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COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

EDITED BY

CLEMENT LAWRENCE SMITH AND TRACY PECK

LIVY. BOOKS XXI. AND XXII.

GREENOUGH AND PECK

COLLEGE SERIES OF LATIN AUTHORS

o

Livius

LIVY

BOOKS XXI. AND XXII.

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

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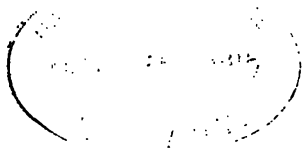
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PREFACE.

THE scope and method of this volume of Livy are the same as were set forth in the preface to Books I. and II. The wants of *college students* have been kept steadily in view, and the chief object of the commentary is to stimulate such students and aid them in forming the habit of reading Latin *as Latin*, of apprehending thought in its Latin form and sequence, and of entering with intelligent sympathy into the workings of Livy's mind and his conception of his country's history and destiny.

The text is based upon the recension by August Luchs (Berlin, 1888) of the Codex Puteanus and of its best derivatives. This codex was probably written in the sixth century, and is now in the National Library at Paris. Deviations from Luchs are generally in a closer adherence to the manuscript readings. Luchs' treatment of the text is conservative, but at times his changes do not seem necessary. The best manuscripts more or less misrepresent the original author; but the object of criticism should be to ascertain, not what we may think the author ought to have said, but what, in view of his mental peculiarities and of his surroundings, he probably did say.

On the other hand, the editors have reproduced less often than Luchs the vagaries and inconsistencies of the manuscript spellings. As the oldest Latin manuscripts are centuries later than the authors themselves, and have usually been copied and re-copied under oral dictation, they often contain the accumu-

lated blunders and whims of many scribes ; their spelling cannot, therefore, be very sacred or trustworthy. Our knowledge of Latin orthography is based in part upon manuscripts, but much more and more securely upon the evidence of inscriptions, the statements of the Roman grammarians, and the fact that the ancient orthography was essentially phonetic. A method thus derived is necessarily conventional, and cannot faithfully reproduce the method of any single writer ; but it is, for ordinary purposes, the best attainable. Such forms, therefore, as *aecum*, *arena*, *exaustum*, *millia*, *set*, though they are in the best manuscripts of Livy and are of value to specialists, have been discarded.

In the preparation of the commentary, beyond the free use of what has become the common property of scholarship, acknowledgment of aid is due to these works : the editions of Weissenborn-Müller (Berlin, 1891), Wölfflin (Leipsic, 1891), Capes (London, 1889), Dowdall (London, 1888), Riemann and Benoist (Paris, 1888) ; Kühnast's *Die Hauptpunkte der Livianischen Syntax* (Berlin, 1872), Riemann's *Étude sur la langue et la grammaire de Tite Live* (Paris, 1885) ; R. B. Smith's *Rome and Carthage* (New York, 1886), Dodge's *Hannibal* (Boston, 1891), Hesselbarth's *Untersuchungen zur dritten Dekade des Livius* (Halle, 1889) ; Taine's *Essai sur Tite Live* (Paris, 1888).

For an account of Livy's life and writings, and an estimate of his strength and weakness as a historian, the reader is referred to the Introduction to Books I. and II.

The abbreviation 'Gr.' in the notes is for Allen & Greenough's *Latin Grammar* (Boston, 1888).

JULY 12, 1893.

INTRODUCTION.



ROME AND CARTHAGE.

I. The twenty-first and twenty-second books of Livy treat of the events of 219-216 B.C., the opening years of the second part of the great struggle between Rome and Carthage. It was a struggle between the Indo-European and the Semitic races for supremacy on the Mediterranean Sea, and for the two powers engaged was one for existence even. The Phœnicians, the great commercial nation of the East, had extended their mercantile relations throughout the eastern Mediterranean, and, crowded out of Grecian waters by the activity of the Hellenic tribes, had concentrated their influence upon the European and North African coast in the West, long before the Latins had emerged from the condition of a simple agricultural community. But Rome from her peculiarly advantageous position controlled the whole commerce with the interior of Italy. Hence, though perhaps the Romans were not a commercial nation in the same sense as were the Greeks and Phœnicians, sending their own ships and expeditions to every quarter of the world, yet their wealth and power were really founded upon commerce, and their merchants were seen and their trade was established in every part of the West. In the conduct of this commerce they early came in contact with the Carthaginians, who were their most active rivals. Carthage was a Phœnician colony which had been peaceably established in prehistoric times (probably in the ninth century B.C.) on the northernmost point of the coast of Africa, and had gradually extended its

power in the western Mediterranean. Before the end of the sixth century B.C. the Carthaginians had become masters of much of the northern and western coasts of Africa, of the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, and of a large part of Sicily, where they were contending with the Greek colonies for dominion. They had also founded colonies on the coast of Spain.

2. According to Polybius (iii. 22), in 509 B.C. the Carthaginians made a treaty with the Romans by which the merchants of Rome were excluded from all the lands south of the Promontorium Hermæum (Cape Bon). In spite of the express statement of Polybius it is more probable, though by no means certain, that this treaty was not made till 348 B.C., (Livy vii. 27) some hundred and fifty years later. But in any case it shows that the Romans had long before the latter date extended their commercial relations to all parts of Italy and Sicily and in some degree to Africa.

3. The contest for the possession of Sicily between the Greeks and Carthaginians continued with various interruptions till 338 B.C., when a treaty was made with Timoleon by which the island was divided between the rival powers. This state of things lasted till about 289 B.C., with the exception of a short period of war with Agathocles of Syracuse. Later, the Carthaginians were gaining on the Greeks, when the advent of Pyrrhus, in 278 B.C., forced them back to the extreme west of the island, until his withdrawal, in 275 B.C., left the field again in their possession. In the meantime, through fear of the Greeks friendly relations had been established between the Romans and their old rivals. The treaty of 348 B.C. had been renewed in 306 B.C. (Livy ix. 43 *et cum Carthaginiensibus eodem anno foedus tertio renovatum, legatisque eorum qui ad id venerant comiter munera missa*). Another renewal was made in 281 B.C. (Livy, *Per. xiii. cum Carthaginiensibus quarto foedus renovatum est*) when the war with Pyrrhus was impending, and a Carthaginian fleet was offered to the Romans, which, however, doubtless from jealousy, was declined. In

272 B.C. the appearance of a Carthaginian fleet before Tarentum was regarded by the Romans as a breach of the treaty (Livy, *Per.* xiv. *Carthaginiensium classis auxilio Tarentinis venit, quo facto ab his foedus violatum est*).

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

4. With the departure of Pyrrhus the Romans became practically masters of the whole of Italy, and now the two grasping nations came face to face on the two sides of the Strait of Messina. Their first hostile contact was forced by the Romans with characteristic aggressiveness. They undertook to assist a lawless band of Campanians, who had seized Messina, against Hiero of Syracuse and the Carthaginians, and for the first time, in 264 B.C., a Roman army crossed the strait into Sicily. The success of this army drew Hiero to join the Roman cause, and a war was begun which lasted more than twenty years. The possession of Sicily was hotly contested by land, but, from the extraordinary power of the Carthaginians on the sea, the war was chiefly a naval one. The Romans, who were without any considerable fleet, contrived with marvelous energy and ingenuity to build one; and, in spite of many disasters, they finally, in 241 B.C., by a victory at the Ægates islands, so crushed the power of the Carthaginians that the latter were forced to submit to a disadvantageous treaty, by which they lost Sicily with all the islands lying between Italy and Sicily. Thus closed the First Punic War — a war, as Polybius says, the longest, the most continuous, and the greatest which the world had then known.

TROUBLES OF CARTHAGE AT HOME.

5. Hardly was peace concluded with Rome when Carthage was seriously threatened by the combined revolt of her mercenary soldiers and of her Libyan dependencies. This war was marked by fearful atrocities on both sides, and after con-

tinuing more than three years was brought to a close by Hamilcar Barca, who had given proof of great genius and patriotism during the last six years of the war with Rome. Either there were ambiguities in the treaty of 241 B.C., which gave a show of reason to the Romans, or they took advantage of the embarrassment of their enemy; at any rate, they soon succeeded in wresting from Carthage both Sardinia and Corsica.

EVENTS IN SPAIN.

6. Partly because of the jealous opposition of Hanno, who represented the peace-loving commercial and aristocratic classes, and partly no doubt to initiate a far-seeing plan of revenge against Rome, Hamilcar, in 237 B.C., crossed into southern Spain. Here, sometimes by force of arms and sometimes by diplomacy, he continued to promote the power and wealth of Carthage till he fell fighting in 228 B.C. His successor was his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, who organized the Carthaginian empire which Hamilcar had established in Spain, and founded New Carthage as its capital. The Romans were alarmed at these movements and forced Hasdrubal to agree not to extend his conquests north of the river Ebro. On the assassination of Hasdrubal, in 220 B.C., Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, succeeded to the control of the interests of Carthage in Spain.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

7. Before 220 B.C., the year when Hannibal took the command, all the accessible regions of the Spanish peninsula south of the river Ebro were in the hands of the Carthaginians, except the city of Saguntum, which had come into alliance with the Romans after the treaty of 241 B.C. Hannibal, who inherited the long-cherished determination of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal to retrieve the disasters of the First Punic War, devoted himself to preparing Spain as a base of operations, and in 219 B.C. began hostilities by the siege and final capture

of Saguntum. As the Roman ambassadors, sent to demand satisfaction and a cessation of hostilities against their ally, met with a rebuff both in Hannibal's camp and at Carthage, the war was formally declared. Hannibal, having made his preparations, set out in the spring of 218 B.C. from New Carthage to invade Italy by way of Gaul and the Alps, an undertaking of which the Romans evidently had not the slightest suspicion. It is the details of this memorable and fateful invasion that form the subject of the Third Decade of Livy's work.

DEFECTIVE ACCOUNTS OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

8. The events contained in this Decade ought naturally to be more accurately presented than those in the earlier extant books. Contemporary historians had recorded the events, and documents of all sorts must have been preserved which would enable a modern historian to attain a considerable degree of certainty in regard to his subject. But the same causes which had served to confuse and obscure the earlier history continued, though in a less degree, to produce their natural effect in the later periods. The art of historical investigation, the colorless and unbiased presentation of facts, the writing of history for history's sake, were, even in the time of the Second Punic War, new and undeveloped. The same family pride, the same political and patriotic bias, the same human tendency to exaggeration and misrepresentation, continued to be active. At the best, even eye-witnesses of facts are untrustworthy, and what passes under the name of contemporary history is always open to suspicion.

LIVY'S HISTORY OF THE WAR.

9. The sources from which Livy could draw for his history were thus tainted from the start. They were numerous, but discordant, and nothing but the most exquisite historical sense could make even a consistent, much less a trustworthy, narrative

character, and apparently knew little of the topography of the region. The question can probably never be settled. We can only use our author for the general features of the narrative, not for its precise details. This edition has not, therefore, attempted to decide in regard to the actual facts, but only to make clear what Livy's own views were in reference to disputed points. The task of answering these doubtful questions belongs to the historian, and not to the editor. Livy's work must be judged by literary and not historical standards, and, so judged, it will always remain a noble specimen of brilliant and generally clear presentation, and a model of narrative style.

TITI LIVI

AB VRBE CONDITA

LIBER XXI.

‘ In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari, quod in 1 principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae umquam gesta sint, me scripturum, quod Hannibale

REMARKABLE CHARACTER OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

1. In parte: *i.e.* at the beginning of the Third Decade, which treats of the Second Punic War (see Intr. 7). The whole sentence is a good example of the force given in Latin by the order of words: the *part* is opposed to the whole work, and is the most emphatic idea of all; the *propriety* (*licet*) is emphasized as opposed to the impropriety of putting such a preface to his whole work, and the possible impropriety of this usage in other historians; the idea of a *preface* (*praefari*) becomes emphatic as opposed to his treatment of the general subject. If we had not the preceding still more emphatic words, Livy might say, ‘Let me say by way of *preface*, before I begin the subject.’ — *principio*: opposed to *parte*. — *summae, body*; *i.e.* the entirety of the work. — *totius*: agreeing with *summae*. — *professi*: the emphasis implies that the claim was not always well founded; cf. the

emphasis on *licet*. — *rerum*: with or without *gestarum*, the regular word for historical material. — *bellum*: the emphasis is borrowed (quoted) from the direct discourse: ‘the subject of my book is a *war*,’ etc. — *maxime omnium, etc.*: the order, seemingly artificial, is determined by the constant collocation of the words in a partitive construction. — *umquam*: on account of the negative idea almost always present in comparative constructions; cf. the use of *ne* in clauses in French after comparisons. — *quod: i.e. id (bellum) quod*; the want of an article in Latin allows the author to vacillate in his mind between ‘a *war*,’ as we should understand the first part of the sentence, and ‘*the war*,’ the real antecedent of *quod*. This usage well illustrates the Latin want of an article; not only did the Romans not have any, but they did not think any except in special cases, when they supplied its place by different devices. — *Hannibale, etc.*: the emphasis marks the sec-

- duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere.
 2 Nam neque validiores opibus ullae inter se civitates
 gentesque contulerunt arma neque his ipsis tantum
 umquam virium aut roboris fuit, et haud ignotas belli
 artes inter sese sed expertas primo Punico conserebant
 bello, et adeo varia fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit
 3 ut propius periculum fuerint qui vicerunt. Odiis etiam

ond from other Punic wars. —
 duce: foreign officers are variously
 entitled by the Romans, even by
 words which have a technical mean-
 ing in Latin, as *imperator*, 3. 1,
 and *praetor*, 3. 4; cf. the English
 use of 'captain' and 'general.'

2. nam neque, etc.: notice how
 the artist gives four co-ordinate
 grounds for his *maxime omnium*,
 etc., without monotonous formal-
 ism, but yet with clearness and pre-
 cision. The first two are co-ordi-
 nated by *neque . . . neque*; the
 second two are introduced by *et . . .*
et. Thus the power and resources
 of the nations, the fact that they
 were each at the height of their
 powers, the fact that they were
 acquainted each with the other's
 tactics, and that the fortune of war
 was long in the balance, are all
 brought out, without monotonous
 parallelism, as reasons why the war
 was a notable one. To these main
 reasons are added two supplemen-
 tary causes with *etiam*, the general
 hatred of the two nations, and the
 particular animosity of the leader
 himself. — *opibus*: the first point,
 including all the resources of war,
 essentially the same as is later re-
 ferred to by *virium aut roboris*. —
his ipsis, etc.: the second point,
 indicating that these nations were
 at the height of their power. —
virium: properly, active strength,
 but here quantitative as to numbers,
 etc. — *roboris*: passive strength,
 qualitative as to the stuff the soldiers

and the controlling powers were
 made of, almost moral in its allusion;
 cf. the English 'hearts of oak.' —
ignotas, etc.: the third point; it
 was not like one civilization meeting
 an inferior one, but the combatants
 were equally matched. They knew
 each other's tactics, and were pre-
 pared to meet them. — *inter sese*:
 the regular reciprocal form of ex-
 pression in Latin. Better taken
 with *ignotas*, though it often hap-
 pens that such an adverbial expres-
 sion confusedly refers to more than
 one part of the sentence, as here
 both *ignotas* and *conserebant*
 naturally take a reciprocal. — *primo*
Punico . . . bello: a kind of date,
 hence not merely *priori bello*, but pre-
 cisely as the English words are used
 in the note on *imperitatum*, 3. — *con-*
serebant: the expression is extended
 from the regular *manum, pugnam*,
 etc., *conserere*. The imperfect looks
 to the continuing of the contest;
 the perfects contain mere narrative
 statements. *Conseruerunt* would
 have seemed to limit the statement
 to the beginning of the war. —
varia . . . Mars: the same thing,
 the vicissitude of the war, described
 under two aspects; cf. I. 33. 4 *Marte*
incerto varia victoria. — *fuerint*:
 this breach of the sequence of tenses
 is almost regular in consecutive
 clauses where the result is a his-
 torical fact.

3. odiis: a fifth point, cumulative
 to the others, hence *etiam*: *i.e.* as
 well as armaments and resources,

prope maioribus certarunt quam viribus, Romanis indignantibus quod victoribus victi ultro inferrent arma, Poenis, quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse. Fama est etiam Hannibalem, annorum 4 ferme novem, pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari ut duceretur in Hispaniam, cum perfecto Africo bello exercitum eo traiecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum tactis sacris iure iurando adactum, se cum primum posset hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant ingentis 5

and greater (in proportion to ordinary battles) than they. — **Romanis**: though this might be in partitive apposition with the subject of **certarunt**, yet Livy treats it as a separate idea, hence the ablative absolute. — **victoribus**: of course referring to themselves, though only stated generally. — **ultro**, *unattracted*; i.e. they actually began an offensive war. — **superbe**: referring to outrage and insult. — **avare**: referring to the extortion of money. — **crederent**: the idiomatic use of the subjunctive, which puts the thought into somebody else's mind. The sense would be complete without **crederent** but it is inserted to show still more strongly that the other party was in the wrong. Translate *as they thought*, or the like. — **imperitatum**: at the close of the First Punic War.

4. **fama**: as opposed to the certainty of the facts before stated, showing that Livy does not give full credence to this statement. — **annorum**: we should expect *puerum* or the like, but the construction begins to be shortened in the Augustan age by appending the quality immediately to the noun or pronoun; cf. *qui ex turba iuvenum*, XXII. 15. 5; *Torquatus, priscae severitatis*, 60. 5. — **blandientem**, *coaxing*. — **duce-retur**: in translating use the active, with change of subject. The emphatic position gives a force like 'to take

him with him,' and so implies already the main idea of **traiecturus**. By such simple devices, as often, the whole has a vivid *pictorial* effect; the boy sees the sacrifice and learns what it is for, and says, 'Oh! take me with you,' whereupon the father grants the request upon the boy's taking then and there the oath. Such pictures are characteristic of our author. — **Africo bello**: the war which Carthage had with her unpaid mercenaries and her disaffected subjects; see Introd. 5. — **exercitum**, etc.: the sacrifice was, as usual, offered at the beginning of the expedition. — **tactis sacris**: usually the swearer took hold of the altar, but here apparently he lays his hand on the victim. Probably Livy had no definite idea, but changes to **sacris** because he had for graphic effect already said **altaribus admotum**. — **cum primum**, etc.: i.e. when he came of age. — **hostem**, etc.: here Livy seems by the emphasis on **hostem** to represent Polybius' (III. 11. 7) μηδέποτε 'Ρωμαίοις εὐνοήσκειν, which agrees with XXXV. 19. 3 *numquam amicum fore populi Romani*, and with Nepos (*Hann.* 2) *nunquam me in amicitia cum Romanis fore*, and the account given by Appian (*IB.* 9) ἐχθρὸς εἶσθαι 'Ρωμαίοις ὅτε ἐς πολέμειαν παρέλθοι. The word **hostem** implies actual warfare.

5. **angebant**, etc.: explaining

- spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae: nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam et Sardiniam inter motum Africae fraude Romanorum stipendio etiam insuper imposito interceptam. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico imperio gessit ut appareret maius eum quam quod gereret agitare in animo bellum et, si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italiae inlaturos fuisse, qui Hannibalis ductu intulerunt.
- 3 Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore aetatis,
- 4 uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, gener inde ob

Hamilcar's animosity. — **Sicilia . . . amissae**, *the loss of*, etc.: this construction of a noun and participle, where the participle gives the main idea, instead of an abstract noun, becomes more and more frequent in the Augustan age. — **nam**: introducing the thought, in indirect discourse, which produced the feeling expressed in **angebant**. Such free uses of the indirect discourse are especially common in Livy. — **nimis celeri**, etc.: because the Carthaginian defeat was not so decisive as to compel the loss of their possessions in Sicily. — **Sardiniam**, etc.: the Romans, taking advantage (**fraude**) of the paralysis of the enemy through the war with the mercenaries, forced the Carthaginians by threats of war to abandon Sardinia and add a further amount to the sum agreed to in the original treaty at the end of the First Punic War. — **imposito**: the perfect is loosely used, in relation really to the time of the speaker, though apparently to that of the main verb **interceptam**.

HAMILCAR AND HASDRUBAL IN SPAIN.

2. his anxius curis: the emphasis serves merely to connect the following with **angebant**, etc., as if it were, 'and so, being in this anxious state of mind,' etc. — **Africo bello**: see 1. 4 n. — **fuit sub recentem**, *immediately followed*. — **pacem**: the one which concluded the First Punic War. — **quinque**: in round numbers. The Mercenary War lasted about four years (241–237 B.C.), or, according to Polybius (1.88), three years and four months. Livy is seldom careful about numbers. — **per quinque annos, novem annis**: Livy delights in varieties of syntax.

2. maius: *i.e.* a war with Rome. — **Hamilcare**: not *eo*, to make a more vivid contrast with **Hannibalis**.

3. peropportuna: the position makes this almost a predicate adjective: 'happening very opportunely, as it did.' — **distulerunt**: a word

aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus et, quia gener erat, factionis Barcinæ opibus, quæ apud milites plebemque plus quam modicæ erant, haud sane voluntate principum in imperio positus. Is plura consilio quam 5 vi gerens hospitiiis magis regulorum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginensem auxit. Ceterum nihilo ei 6 pax tutior fuit: barbarus eum quidam palam ob iram interfecti ab eo domini obtruncavit, comprehensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio quam si evasisset vultu, tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris ut superante lætitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem præ-

used properly of persons, and so almost personifying *mors* and *pueritia* as instruments of fate. — *medius*: referring merely to time. — *flore ætatis*, *youth and beauty*. — *uti ferunt*: implying as usual a doubt of the truth.

4. *aliam*: opposed to *flore*, etc. — *profecto*, *unquestionably*, opposed to *uti ferunt*. — *animi*: though grammatically dependent on *indolem*, yet added as a kind of predicate where we should put in *to wit* or *that is*. — *factionis Barcinæ*: the patriotic or war party, so named for Hamilcar, surnamed 'Barca' (lightning); cf. the frequent application of '*fulmen*' to the Scipio family. Hanno led the opposing or peace party, with which the capitalists and the aristocracy were in sympathy. — *plebemque*: Livy is thinking of the Roman parties. — *haud sane*, *not, you may be sure*; a litotes, like our *not much*, *not very*, and the like.

5. *hospitiis*: this relation, though properly a personal one between citizens of different states, established to supply the want of consuls and resident agents, was, however, extended to potentates in a semi-official capacity, and even to whole

states, so that it covered all sorts of alliances on equal or unequal terms. The relation was more formal and less personal than that indicated by *amicitiam principum*; hence we have *hospitiis* alone, but *conciliandis*, etc., in full. — *regulorum*: chieftains of petty tribes. — *principum*: important men in tribes not ruled by a chief. — *bello aut armis*: a double expression merely to match the two branches, *hospitiis*, etc.

6. *tutior*: *i.e.* he did not escape being killed, in spite of his avoiding war. — *barbarus*: emphasized as continuing the same idea as the preceding sentence: 'a native Celt, not a regular soldier in battle.' — *palam*: notice Livy's high coloring; Polybius (II. 36) says in the night. — *interfecti*: cf. *amissæ*, I. 5 n. — *comprehensus*, etc.: though two items are in Latin fashion crowded into one predication, yet by the order of the words the same sequence of ideas is secured as in our own more broken style. — *vultu*: *i.e.* he showed no alarm when captured. — *quoque*: picking out *tormentis*, etc., as a climax on *comprehensus*, just as *eo fuit*, etc., with *ridentis etiam*, is a climax on *haud alio*, etc. Livy is nothing if not

7 buerit. Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

8 In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit quin prae-rogativam militarem, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium

forcible. — *ridentis*: see *pugnantium*, 29. 2 n. This passage is a very good example of the manner in which Livy adds stroke after stroke for graphic effect. The whole has to be read first straight on and parsed afterwards, otherwise it becomes a mere jumble of words.

7. *cum hoc*: resuming the story after the digression. — *quia*: introducing the reason why the Romans thought it necessary to make terms, inasmuch (which is passed over) as they could not at the moment fight him. — *fuerat*: in reference to the time of the treaty, giving an effect like 'they had found that he was,' etc. — *foedus*: the original treaty of B.C. 241 was renewed with the provision not in it originally, *ut finis*, etc. — *renovaverat*: in reference to the time of the Second Punic War, which is Livy's main point. The treaty with Hasdrubal was in 225 B.C. — *Saguntinis*: Saguntum, a very flourishing city, founded by Greeks long before the rise of the Roman power, lay very near the coast of Spain, a hundred miles or so southwesterly from the mouth of the Ebro. Its autonomy was secured by this treaty, although it lay in the territory left open to the Carthaginians, so that its neutrality was guaranteed as a kind of buffer between the two great powers, as is often done in modern times. Its territory may possibly have reached to the Ebro. — *mediis*: used loosely;

not that necessarily it lay geographically between the two.

HANNIBAL MADE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: HIS CHARACTER.

8. *in Hasdrubalis locum*: again a good example of the order of words. We should naturally say, 'in place of Hasdrubal (now dead and so making a successor necessary),' but Livy says, 'in place of *Hasdrubal* (the next commander was Hannibal),' taking the succession for granted and simply opposing the new commander to the old. The Latin has a fondness for emphasizing persons. — *haud dubia*, etc.: describing the situation before the actual choice politically of the new commander. The best MSS. read *prae-rogativa militaris* . . . *sequebatur*; either Livy allowed himself here a strange anacoluthon, or, as is more probable, the text was early corrupted. — *prae-rogativam*: originally used with *tribus* or *centuria* for the first (*prae*) body selected by lot to vote (*rogo*) at an election. Its choice was regarded as an omen and had much influence on the election. Hence the word comes to mean *choice*, viewed as a precedent, as is the case here. — *in praetorium*, etc.: the custom is not mentioned elsewhere, but it may be correctly reported or may have been drawn by Livy from some other nation, or even entirely fabricated. — *iuvenis*: the emphasis accents

clamore atque adsensu appellatus erat, favor plebis sequeretur. Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ² ad se accersierat actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat. Barcinis nitentibus ut adsuesceret militiae Hannibal atque in paternas succederet opes, Hanno alterius fac- ³ tionis princeps 'Et aequum postulare videtur' inquit 'Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo quod petit tribu- endum.' Cum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiae in ⁴ se omnis convertisset, 'Florem aetatis' inquit 'Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum prae- buit, iusto iure eum a filio repeti censet; nos tamen minime decet iuventutem nostram pro militari rudimento adsue- facere libidini praetorum. An hoc timemus, ne Hamil- ⁵ caris filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem videat, et, cuius regis genero hereditarii sint relictis exercitus nostri, eius filio parum mature servia- mus? Ego istum iuvenem domi tenendum sub legibus, ⁶

the apparent incongruity between his age and the enthusiastic instalment in office. Hannibal appears (I. 4; 2. 1 and 3) to have been about twenty-six years old. Nepos (*Hann.* 3) says that he was under twenty-five, and Eutropius (III. 7) that he was in his twentieth year. — **clamore atque adsensu**: a hendiadys, equal to 'clamorous assent.' — **appellatus**: literally, not merely figuratively, 'hailed' as such, in accordance with the practice in Roman armies.

2. **Hasdrubal**: *i.e.* while in command in Spain after the death of Hamilcar. — **accersierat**: the perfect to keep the right sequence of events in view of the statements at the beginning of the chapter. — **acta**, etc.: *i.e.* the question of Hannibal's going as implied in the preceding. — **etiam**: *i.e.* not only he had been sent for, but his party

had urged that he should be despatched to the army.

3. **Hanno**: 2. 4 n. — **et . . .** **et**: purposely used to introduce the two contradictory parts of the statement with rhetorical effect as a startling and paradoxical proposition.

4. **admiratione**: *i.e.* just the effect intended. — **florem aetatis**: see 2. 3. — **rudimento**: for the military origin of the word, see Harvard Studies, I. 95.

5. **an**: the regular use of the word, implying 'am I not right in opposing it, or must we do so for fear?' etc. — **immodica**, *unlimited*, *unrestrained*, as passing beyond the proper limits for a constitutional commander. — **regni**: as opposed to a lawful magistracy. — **regis**: used in the same sarcastic tone. — **parum mature**, *not soon enough*.

sub magistratibus, docendum vivere aequo iure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet.' Pauci ac ferme optimus quisque Hannoni adsentiebantur; sed, ut plerumque fit, maior pars meliorem vicit.

Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se convertit: Hamilcarem iuvenem redditum sibi veteres milites credere; eundem vigorem in vultu vimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein brevi effecit ut pater in se minimum momentum ad favorem conciliandum esset. Numquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilis fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset: neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam praeficere malle ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque milites alio

6. *quandoque*: in its indefinite sense; cf. *quandocumque*, and *quisque* in its early relative sense. The Ciceronian writers would use *aliquando* or *quando*.

4. *pauci*, a few, apparently contrary to the usual negative sense of the word, but still implying 'a few, but only a few.' — *missus*: the emphasis enables Livy to omit the result of the decision of the senate: 'he was sent, and immediately,' etc.

2. *iuvenem*, in the prime of his powers, i.e. as they remembered him in his youth. — *credere*: the historical infinitive is used here to depict the situation already stated in the preceding sentence; so in *malle*, 4. This form always describes, and never merely narrates. — *effecit*: i.e. as a soldier, he soon made the likeness to his father (pater in se) seem of little account by the side of his military qualities.

3. *numquam*: the emphasis enables Livy to dispense with a *nam*

or *enim*. The whole is a shorthand expression for, 'He showed a character than which none was ever better suited at the same time for the two opposites of command and obedience,' — a form of expression which becomes a subordinate detail of *effecit*, and not an explanation requiring *nam*. — *parendum*: the word is in a kind of apposition with *res*, and so the natural *ad* is omitted before it. — *discernereres*: the regular use of the imperfect where what would be in present time, a general condition with the protasis omitted (as *non discernas*, 'you couldn't tell if you should try,' or the like), is transferred to past time. There is strictly no 'contrary to fact' implication (Gr. 311. a).

4. *fortiter ac strenue*: a favorite combination to express the ideal Roman character; cf. Cic. *Phil.* II. 32. 78; Hor. *Ep.* I. 7. 46; Suet. *Tib.* 1. — *esset*: the so-called subjunctive of repeated action, which

duce plus confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciae ad 5
pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa peri-
cula erat. Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus
vinci poterat. Caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi 6
potionisque desiderio naturali, non voluptate modus
finitus; vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discrimi-
nata tempora: id quod gerendis rebus superesset quieti 7
datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio accersita;
multi saepe militari sagulo opertum humi iacentem inter
custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vestitus 8
nihil inter aequales excellens; arma atque equi conspi-
ciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus
erat; princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus conserto proelio
excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequa- 9
bant: inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica,
nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius

first comes into frequent use with Livy (Gr. 309. b).

6. *discriminata*: i.e. regularly fixed for one or the other purpose.

7. *multi saepe*, many persons at one time or another; cf. II. 35. 8 *multis saepe bellis*. — *militari*: i.e. such as the common soldiers wore. — *sagulo*: the diminutive to heighten the effect, like 'simple soldier's cloak.' The regular word is *sagum*, a short cloak (like the Greek *chlamys*) fastened on the right shoulder. — *custodias, sentinelis*. — *stationes, pickets* or *posts*.

8. *vestitus*: as the mere adornments of his body opposed to *arma* and *equi*, as means of war. — *equitum peditumque*: i.e. as a warrior on foot or on horseback, referring to personal prowess.

9. *virī virtutes*: this, instead of *eius virtutes*, gratifies Livy's fondness for alliteration. — *vitia*: probably this standing reputation among

the Romans was as unfounded as the mutual estimation of British and French warriors or rival college athletic teams. Livy's own narrative is sufficient to disprove the Roman notion; see e.g. the honors to slain enemies in XXV. 17 and XXVII. 28, as well as Hannibal's strength in adversity, XXVIII. 12. — *perfidia*, etc.: *Punica fides* was proverbial among the Romans. If we had a Carthaginian literature, we should no doubt have the contrary expressed, and probably with more truth. — *nihil veri*: like the other words, in apposition with *vitia*, being affirmative in meaning, though negative in form, 'utter disregard for truth.' — *nihil sancti*: this idea among the Romans corresponds to piety or conscientiousness with us, a pure life controlled by religion. — *deum metus*: another aspect of religion, respect for the gods as 'making for righteousness.' — *ius*

- 5 iurandum, nulla religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit nulla re, quae agenda videndaque magno futuro duci esset, praetermissa.
- 6 Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus, velut Italia ei provincia decreta bellumque Romanum mandatum
- 2 esset, nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis opprimeret, Saguntinis inferre bellum statuit.
- 3 Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines—ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginensium erat—induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos, sed rerum serie finitimis domitis gentibus iungen-

iurandum, *regard for an oath*. — religio: *i.e.* sense of dependence on the gods. That the character here expressed is untrue sufficiently appears from Polybius. — indole, *equipment*: the word is properly used of the young, denoting 'promise,' 'natural endowments capable of growth'; see Val. Max. III. 1.

10. agenda videndaque: referring to the two means of learning, experience and observation. — futuro, *by one who intended to be*. The future participle, to express purpose or intention, is first freely used by Livy; cf. 32. 1, 2, 5, 10; 58. 2; XXII. 12. 2.

HANNIBAL'S OPERATIONS IN SPAIN.

5. ceterum: resuming the narrative after the digression at 3. 2. — ex quo die, etc.: opposed to his service as a subordinate. There is a difficulty in the chronology (cf. 2. 1-3), arising no doubt from Livy's following different sources. — Italia, etc.: instead of Spain and the war there. — provincia: a technical

term for 'department,' 'field of operations'; for its strict use see 17. 1.

2. Saguntinis, etc.: as the first step in a Roman war.

3. quibus oppugnandis: a loose use of the ablative of cause. Operations against the town are really meant, hence *oppugnare*. — quia, etc.: *i.e.* he wished to have an appearance of right on his side, even though he was purposely aiming at the Romans. — movebantur: a free use of the conative imperfect to supply the want of a form: for a *futurum in praeterito* in the passive corresponding to the active *motura erant*. — Olcadum: northerly from New Carthage on the Gaudiana. — ultra, *south of*. Rome is Livy's point of view. — in parte, etc.: *i.e.* according to the treaty with Hasdrubal (2. 7) they were left to the Carthaginians, though not yet conquered by them. — rerum serie: *i.e.* he knew that in the combinations among the tribes attacked the neighboring Saguntines would sooner or

doque tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Cartalam 4 urbem opulentam, caput gentis eius, expugnat diripitque; quo metu percussae minores civitates stipendio imposito imperium acceperere. Victor exercitus opulentusque praeda Carthaginem Novam in hiberna est deductus. Ibi large partiendo praedam stipendioque 5 praeterito cum fide exsolvendo cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis vere primo in Vaccaeos promotum bellum. Hermandica et Arbocala, eorum 6 urbes, vi captae. Arbocala et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa. Ab Hermandica profugi 7 exsulibus Olcadum, priore aestate domitae gentis, cum se iunxissent, concitant Carpetanos, adortique Hanni- 8 balem regressum ex Vaccaeis haud procul Tago flumine agmen grave praeda turbavere. Hannibal proelio absti- 9 nuit, castrisque super ripam positis, cum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, amnem vado traiecit vallo-

later become involved. — **iungendo**: *i.e.* by extending his boundaries. The word is used absolutely elsewhere (Pliny, *Ep.* III. 19. 2) of the gradual accumulation of land. The co-ordination of the two different kinds of ideas (**rerum serie, iungendo**) is contrary to Latin usage, but begins to be more common in imperial Latin.

4. **quo metu**: a common, even standing, shorthand expression for 'the alarm caused by this.' — **stipendio imposito . . . acceperere**: the change of 'point of view' or 'subject of the action' is not natural in Latin, but becomes common in later and less formal writing; cf. **promotum**, 5 n. — **Carthaginem Novam**: the modern Cartagena, built with great splendor by Hasdrubal as a naval base for aggressive operations. The name is pleonastic, 'Carthage' meaning 'New Town' (Servius on Verg. *Aen.*

I. 370 *Carthago est lingua Poenorum 'Nova civitas'*). — **hiberna**: *i.e.* the winter of 221–220 B.C.

5. **stipendio**: *i.e.* arrears of pay for the campaign. — **civium**: *i.e.* Carthaginians there settled. — **promotum**: the rest of the sentence is fashioned as if Livy were going to say *promovit*, but with one of his sudden turns he changes his point of view from the man to the operations, and continues from that point in **Hermandica**, etc.

6. **Hermandica**: probably the modern Salamanca.

7. **ab Hermandica profugi** = *ei qui ab Hermandica profugerant*. The use of adjectives and participles as nouns, but with the construction of verbs, is very rare before Livy: cf. *inferentis vim*, 44. 3; *fugientium e terra*, XXII. 19. 9.

8. **procul Tago**: *procul* is not used in prose as a preposition before Livy; cf. 7. 6.

- que ita producto ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes
 10 haberent, invadere eos transeuntes statuit. Equitibus
 praecepit ut, cum ingressos aquam viderent, adorirentur
 impeditum agmen; in ripa elephantos—quadraginta
 11 autem erant—disponit. Carpetanorum cum appendi-
 cibus Olcadum Vaccaeorumque centum milia fuere,
 12 invicta acies, si aequo dimicaretur campo. Itaque et
 ingenio feroces et multitudine ^{frēti} et, quod metu ces-
 sisse credebant hostem, id morari victoriam rati quod
 interesset amnis, clamore sublato passim sine ullius
 imperio, qua cuique proximum est, in amnem ruunt.
 13 Et ex parte altera ripae vis ingens equitum in flumen
 immissa medioque alveo haudquaquam pari certamine
 14 concursum, quippe ubi pedes instabilis ac vix vado
 fidens vel ab inermi equite equo temere acto perverti
 posset, eques corpore armisque liber, equo vel per
 medios gurgites stabili, comminus eminusque rem gere-
 15 ret. Pars magna flumine absumpta; quidam verticoso
 16 amni delati in hostis ab elephantis obtriti sunt. Postremi,
 quibus regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia tre-
 pidatione cum in unum colligerentur, priusquam a tanto

9. *ita*, etc.: Hannibal entrenched himself so that his foes would be tempted to ford the stream, but yet so near that he could readily attack them before they were over.

11. *invicta*: a shorthand form for *quae invicta fuisset*, much used by the later writers.

12. *feroces*: as usual almost equal to 'confident.'—*id morari*, etc., *the only hindrance to their victory was the fact that*, etc.

13. *et*: connecting the strong force of the cavalry with the powerful attack of the Spaniards, and so leading up to the great contest in the river.

14. *vix vado fidens*: *i.e.* scarcely able to stand in shallow water, as op-

posed to *medios gurgites*; cf. 31. 11.—*temere*, etc.: *i.e.* they could be ridden down by a mere random dash of the horsemen.—*comminus eminusque*: *i.e.* the horsemen being free could throw their missiles or use their swords, while the foot were hampered so as to be unable to do either.

16. *postremi*, *those in the rear*, and so not exposed to the cavalry attack nor to the violence of the stream. The word, by a common Latin construction, is made to belong to the dependent verb, *colligerentur*, though the sentence begins as if *postremi* were to have a predicate of its own.—*varia*, etc.: *i.e.*

pavore reciperent animos, Hannibal agmine quadrato amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit vastatisque agris intra paucos dies Carpetanos quoque in deditionem accepit. Et iam omnia trans Hiberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginensium erant.

Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, ceterum iam **6** belli causa certamina cum finitimis serebantur, maxime Turdetanis. Quibus cum adesset idem qui litis erat **2** sator, nec certamen iuris sed vim quaeri appareret, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium ad bellum iam haud dubie imminens orantes. Consules tunc Romae erant **3** P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Qui cum legatis in senatum introductis de re publica rettu-

from the various directions in which the panic had at first driven them. — **agmine quadrato**: the regular expression for a line in march so arrayed as to guard against attack on all sides, as opposed to the ordinary line of march, which was not intended for fighting. — **ingressus**: probably the description is overdrawn, for if the above account is true this movement would have been at least difficult. — **fugam . . . fecit**: this expression means either to flee or, as here, to put to flight. — **agris**: i.e. of the Carpetani, on the other side of the river.

17. trans: from Livy's point of view; cf. *ultra Hiberum*, 3.

THE SAGUNTINES IN ALARM SEND ENVOYS TO ROME.

6. Saguntinis, etc.: a good example of the origin and effect of chiasmus. As far as *erat* there is no opposition except the one already indicated in *Saguntinos*, 5. 17; but immediately there comes *belli causa*, opposed to *bellum*, and so Livy leads up to an opposition in *finitimis* to the first word *Sagun-*

tinis. A criss-cross opposition, or chiasmus, is the natural result. — *cum finitimis*: i.e. between the Saguntines and their neighbors. — **Turdetanis**: Livy cannot mean the powerful people of this name in southwestern Spain, but some much nearer tribe, probably living on the river Turia, and possibly an offshoot of the other.

2. adesset: in its technical sense of appearing as counsel or supporter. — **sator**: cf. *serebantur* above. — **orantes**: a rare form of purpose; cf. *cohibentem*, XXII. 2. 4.

3. consules, etc.: the consuls for this year, viz. 219 B.C., were M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus, who were succeeded in 218 B.C. by those here named. By blindly following different authorities, Livy falls into a chronological blunder, and tries to extricate himself in 15. 4–6. — **introductis**: the ambassadors were introduced into the senate on the motion of the consuls, on the occasion of the discussion in that body as to the course to be pursued (*de re publica retulissent*).

lissent, placuissetque mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res
 4 sociorum inspiciendas, quibus si videretur digna causa,
 et Hannibali denuntiarent ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi
 Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam traice-
 rent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias deferrent;
 5 — hac legatione decreta necdum missa, omnium spe
 6 celerius Saguntum oppugnari allatum est. Tunc relata
 de integro res ad senatum; et alii provincias consulibus
 Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique
 rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in Hispaniam Han-
 7 nibalemque intenderant bellum; erant qui non temere
 movendam rem tantam exspectandosque ex Hispania
 8 legatos censerent. Haec sententia quae tutissima vide-
 batur vicit, legatique eo maturius missi P. Valerius
 Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tamphilus Saguntum ad Hanni-
 balem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello,
 ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deposcen-
 dum.

4. quibus: *i.e. qui, si eis*; cf. *postremi*, 5. 16 n. — **Hannibali**: opposed to the Carthaginian government at home. — **deferrent**: this word closes the sentence without leaving any main clause for it. This has the appearance of careless writing, but it serves to give a vivid and rapid narrative of the facts, and the grammatical construction is completed in another form below.

5. **hac legatione decreta**: in this expression Livy sums up the whole of the proceeding and so gains a new start, as if it were, 'Well, after this had been voted, as I have said, and while it was not yet carried out,' etc. — **spe, expectation**, as often.

6. **relata**: cf. *retulissent* in 3. — **de integro**: the regular use of this phrase is to denote the introduc-

tion of something on a new basis, as unaffected by any previous proceedings. — **decernentes**: in its regular sense of giving one's individual opinion, though nothing but the sum of all the opinions given would properly be a *decretum*. — **censebant, favored a decree**; cf. preceding note. — **intenderant**: a strong expression for *intendendum censebant*, indicating that they had already made up their minds.

7. **temere, hastily**, without some more decisive provocation.

8. **eo**: *i.e.* because the matter was left undecided until the return of the embassy. — **ad Hannibalem**: *i.e.* as in 4. — **absisteretur**: indirect for *si non absisteretur (ite Carthaginem)*; the apodosis is merged in *inde (missi) Carthaginem*.

Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Saguntum summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum quidam generis; ceterum in tantas brevi creverant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus seu multitudinis incremento seu disciplinae sanctitate, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus finis pervastatis passim agris urbem tripertito adgreditur. Angulus muri erat in planiorem patentioremq; quam cetera circa vallem vergens. Adversus eum vineas agere instituit per quas aries moenibus admoveri posset. Sed ut locus procul muro satis aequus agendis vineis fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad

THE SIEGE OF SAGUNTUM.

7. **parant**: expressing the same idea as **consultant**, but under another phase. The preparations, as opposed to Hannibal's activity, consisted in the deliberations.

2. **Zacyntho**: Saguntum, the Roman transliteration of this word, well illustrates the earlier poverty of the Latin alphabet. It is the modern Murviedro (*Muri veteres*). The island has since become famous as Zante. — **ab Ardea**: qualifying **Rutulorum** and = *Ardeatium*. This tradition is apparently mentioned to emphasize the connection of Rome with Saguntum. Ardea gave Rome no aid when Hannibal was pressing her hard (Livy XXVII. 9).

3. **ceterum**: resumptive, like the Ciceronian *sed*, and introducing an explanation of **longe opulentissima**. — **disciplinae sanctitate**, *strong moral sense*; i.e. the people were trained in such habits of conscientious regard for obligations that

they maintained their faith to their own ruin. — **fidem socialem**: the loyalty of Saguntum to Rome is often mentioned in the Latin writers, e.g. St. Augustine, *C. D.* XXII. 6 *merito quaeritur utrum recte fecerint Saguntini quando universam civitatem suam interire maluerunt quam fidem frangere, quae cum ipsa Romana re publica tenebantur; in quo suo facto laudantur ab omnibus terrenae rei publicae civibus*. It is, however, probable that they cared little for the Romans except as allies against Hannibal.

4. **Hannibal**: returning to the general fact stated in 6. 5 from another point of view.

5. **circa**: i.e. *quae circa erant*; used as an adjective, as is common with Livy and later writers; cf. II. 12; 36. 4.

6. **ut . . . ita, although . . . yet**, a common use of these words, by which two statements which are adverse to each other are stated as if they were alike. — **procul muro**:

- 7 effectum operis ventum est, coeptis succedebat. Et
 turris ingens imminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco,
 supra ceterae modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et iuven-
 tus delecta, ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostende-
 8 batur, ibi vi maiore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus
 submovere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munienti-
 bus pati; deinde iam non pro moenibus modo atque
 turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes
 9 operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuariis cer-
 taminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam
 10 Poeni. Vt vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius
 subit, adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit,
 tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit ut non multum abes-
 8 set quin opera ac vineae desererentur. Obsidio deinde

see 5. 8 n. — **effectum operis**: *i.e.* the actual attack at the wall itself. — **succedebat**: impersonal, as usual.

7. **et . . . et . . . et**: introducing three hindrances to the success of the operations. — **ceterae**: *i.e.* of the rest of the wall, though by a shorthand construction agreeing with **altitudinis**. — **emunitus**: the prefix refers to height, as in *elatus*, *erectus*, and similar words. — **timoris**: a common Latin usage, whereby a word which we conceive of as subjective, referring to the persons fearing, is not so limited, but more loosely expresses the idea from the opposite point of view, 'cause of alarm,' or 'reason for fear.'

8. **primo . . . deinde**: the two modes of fighting at long and at short range. — **munientibus**, *the besiegers*. The word is used of any strategic works, as here of the operations of Hannibal. — **stationes**, *the posts*, *i.e.* the small bodies of troops stationed here and there for actual service in the siege. —

opera: the men and instruments engaged at the moment in the work.

9. **tumultuariis**: a technical word for all fighting not done in regular lines.

10. **vero**: as usual indicating the climax of an action or situation. — **femur**: the so-called Greek accusative, common in poetry, but this is the only clear case in Livy with a transitive verb: cf. *Bellum Afr.* 78 *caput ictus* and Suet. *A.* 20 *genu ictus*. — **tragula**: a heavy missile spear used by the 'barbarian' nations of Eastern Europe of which we have no certain representation. — **circa**: *i.e.* on the part of the soldiers near Hannibal. — **opera ac vineae**: the first word would naturally include the second, but seems to be here used for the engines and operations sheltered by the **vineae**.

8. **obsidio**: strictly only a blockade, though we call this a siege as well, but the Romans distinguished between an active siege and a mere 'investment' for the purpose of cutting off supplies and

per paucos dies magis quam oppugnatio fuit, dum vulnus ducis curaretur. Per quod tempus ut quies certaminum erat, ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum. Itaque acrius de integro coortum est ² bellum pluribusque partibus, vix accipientibus quibusdam opera locis, vineae coeptae agi admoverique aries. Abundabat multitudo hominum Poenus; ad centum ³ quinquaginta milia habuisse in armis satis creditur; oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multifariam ⁴ distineri coepti non sufficiebant. Itaque iam ferieban- ⁵ tur arietibus muri quassataeque multae partes erant; una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem: tres deinceps tures quantumque inter eas muri erat cum fragore ingenti prociderunt. Captum oppidum ea ruina ⁶ crediderant Poeni, qua, velut si pariter utrosque murus

reinforcements. — *curaretur*: not 'cured,' but *attended to*. The subjunctive is used because of the idea of purpose involved. — *ut . . . ita*: see 7. 6 n. — *operum ac munitionum*: nearly the same idea in two different phases.

2. *vix accipientibus*, which scarcely admitted, i.e. in unfavorable places for siege works. — *aries*: collective, as is shown by *pluribus partibus*.

3. *abundabat*, etc.: the arrangement is chiasmic with both the parenthetical clause and the main opposition, *oppidani*, etc. It is to be remembered, however, that in a chiasmic sentence the opposition never appears in the first part. The effect here is, 'there was a great abundance of men on the side of the Carthaginians, etc., about a hundred and fifty thousand of them, it is supposed, etc., whereas the people of the town,' etc. On account of the chiasmus the connectives are omitted.

4. *coepti*: i.e. *postquam coepti sunt*.

5. *eriebantur*: the emphasis on this opposes it to the former state of things in 7. 8 *missilibus*, etc., which had gradually changed (*iam*). The battering-rams could now work, and even succeeded in making a breach (*quassatae*). — *una*, etc., one (part of the wall), by a continuous breach in it, had laid the city bare. — *deinceps*, in a row. Livy is quite fond of using adverbs as adjectives, usually putting them before the noun and after any adjective; see e.g. *infra*, 36. 6; *deinceps*, 52. 5; *repente*, XXII. 17. 3: cf. the use and position of adverbs in Greek. — *prociderunt*: the point of view is suddenly changed to narrate graphically the sudden crash of the long piece of wall, and later as suddenly changed again, to narrate the fight which ensued.

6. *ruina*, breach. — *qua*: referring to *ruina*. — *utrosque*: i.e. the Carthaginians, as well as the towns-

- 7 texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariae pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius conseri solent, sed iustae acies velut patenti campo inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia intervallo constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos inritat, Poeno cepisse iam se urbem, si paulum adnitatur, credente, Saguntinis pro nudata moenibus patria corpora opponentibus nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum a se locum hostem immitteret. Itaque quo acrius et confertim magis utrimque pugnabant, eo plures vulnerabantur nullo inter arma corporaque vano intercidente telo. Phalarica erat Saguntinis missile telum hastili abiectione et cetera tereti praeterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum exstabat; id, sicut in pilo, quadratum stупpa circumligabant lineabantque pice; ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiam si haesisset in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat, quod, cum medium accensum mitteretur conceptumque

men. It was a storming party on both sides.

7. *per occasionem*, etc.: *i.e.* as one party or the other gets a chance for a sudden attack. — *iustae*, *regular*. — *constiterant*, *were drawn up*.

8. *adnitatur*: future condition with illogical conclusion; see Gr. 307. *e.* — *patria*: a variation on *urbem* above, but the fate of Saguntum is thus emphatically connected with the national destiny of its people.

9. *vano*, *without effect*.

10. *phalarica*: another heavy javelin usually thrown from a height and furnished, as described here, with a fire apparatus. It may have been hurled by machinery. — *cetera*: very unusual adverbial accu-

sative plural, found in prose before Tacitus only in Sallust, and twice elsewhere in Livy, viz. I. 32. 2 and 35. 6; cf. *sollicitus omnia*, 34. 5. — *tereti*, *round*, as opposed to the part towards the head, which was square. — *id*: *i.e.* the forward end. — *sicut in pilo*: the *pilum* had usually a square shaft.

11. *posset*: the subject is properly *ferrum*, but as it makes no difference whether that or *phalarica* is subject, Livy is careless about the change. — *id . . . quod*, *the fact that*. — *haesisset*: the subjunctive of repeated action, which has by Livy's time become a familiar feature in Latin syntax.

12. *medium*: where the tow was wound on it.

ipso motu multo maiorem ignem ferret, arma omitti coge-
bat nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus prae-
bebat. Cum diu anceps fuisset certamen et Saguntinis, **9**
quia praeter spem resisterent, crevisset animi, Poenus,
quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem repente **2**
oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt,
inde impeditum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo
fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.

Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est; qui- **3**
bus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale qui dicerent
nec tuto eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum gen-
tium arma, nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum
operae esse legationes audire. Apparebat non admissos **4**
protinus Carthaginem ituros. Litteras igitur nuntios-
que ad principes factionis Barcinae praemittit ut prae-
pararent suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari
populo Romano posset. Itaque, praeterquam quod ad- **10**
missi auditique sunt, ea quoque vana atque irrita legatio
fuit. Hanno unus adversus senatum causam foederis **2**
magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam, non cum
adsensu audientium egit, per deos foederum arbitros ac **3**

9. resisterent: the thought is referred to the Saguntines by the use of the subjunctive.

2. fusum fugatumque: one of Livy's favorite alliterative phrases.

THE ROMAN ENVOYS, REPULSED
BY HANNIBAL, PROCEED TO
CARTHAGE.

3. interim: Livy here interrupts the story of the siege for the sake of variety. There is a break in the chronology. According to 6. 3 the embassy was sent in 218 B.C., whereas the time here referred to is 218. — **missi:** the subject is the

omitted antecedent of *qui*. — **ope-
rae esse, have time;** for the dative, see Roby, 1283.

4. suorum: *i.e.* the Barcine faction.

10. ea quoque: *i.e.* in Carthage as well as with Hannibal.

SPEECH OF HANNO IN THE CAR-
THAGINIAN SENATE.

2. foederis: the treaty mentioned in 2. 7. — **magno silentio,** etc.: *i.e.* they gave him respectful attention, but with no expression of assent.

3. arbitros: *i.e.* being called as

testis senatum obtestans, ne Romanum cum Saguntino suscitarent bellum; monuisse, praedixisse se, ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent; non manes, non stirpem eius conquiescere viri, nec umquam, donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit, quietura Romana foedera. 'Iuvenem flagrantem cupidine regni viamque unam ad id cernentem, si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut materiam igni praeabentes ad exercitus misistis. Aluistis ergo hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum vestri circumsedent exercitus, unde arcentur foedere; mox Carthaginem circumsedebunt Romanae legiones ducibus isdem diis, per quos priore bello rupta foedera sunt ulti. Vtrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis? legatos ab sociis et pro sociis venientes bonus imperator vester in castra non admisit, ius

witnesses to the treaty, they were also judges of its violation.—*monuisse*, *he had, he said*, etc.—*praedixisse*: referring to the reasons he had given why they should not send Hannibal; these were prophecies of the result, hence *prae*.—*manes*: a bold figure combining in one idea both the ancient idea of actual ghosts, and the modified modern notion of the continuance of a person's spirit in his descendants. The idea of ghosts continuing to walk till vengeance has been accomplished, is an old and persistent one.

4. *si . . . vivat*: the apodosis is absorbed in *cernentem*, etc. The whole is a confusion of two ideas, 'that the only way, etc., was to,' etc., and 'he could attain, etc., only if.'—*ex bellis*, etc.: cf. II. 18. 10, *bella ex bellis sererent*.

5. *vestri*: *i.e.* of the Barcine faction who had been in the ma-

jority; so *vos* and *vester* below.—*ulti*: agreeing in gender with *Romani* implied in *Romanae legiones*.

6. *utrum*, etc.: the question assumes that the war is folly, and asks the causes of the folly, after which Hanno proceeds to show why the Carthaginians cannot expect to conquer.—*ab sociis*: the Romans were at peace with the Carthaginians, not at war, which makes the repulse more flagrant.—*pro sociis*: *i.e.* the Saguntines, who were in the same relation.—*ius*, etc.: we should say, 'violated the law of nations'; the Latin more concretely says, 'taken away the right (secured by that law).'
—*tamen*: *i.e.* notwithstanding the violation of the law of nations.—*unde*: referring to *inde* implied with *pulsi* (*i.e.* from the camp of Hannibal).—*hostium*: opposed to

gentium sustulit; hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem legati arcentur pulsī, ad vos venerunt; res ex foedere repetunt; ut publica fraus absit, auctorem culpae et reum criminis deposcunt. Quo lenius agunt, segnius 7 incipiunt, eo, cum coeperint, vereor ne perseverantius saeviant. Aegatis insulas Erycemque ante oculos proponite quae terra marique per quattuor et viginti annos passi sitis. Nec puer hic dux erat, sed pater ipse 8 Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstinueramus ex foedere, sicut nunc Sagunto non abstinemus. Vicerunt ergo dii homines- 9 que, et id de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus rupisset, eventus belli velut aequus iudex, unde ius stabat ei victoriam dedit. Carthagini nunc Hannibal 10

sociis above. — **res . . . repetunt**: the general term for demanding satisfaction. — **ex foedere**: because that was broken by Hannibal's attack on the Saguntines whose autonomy was preserved in it. — **publica**: on the part of the state as opposed to the private action of Hannibal. — **auctorem**, etc.: the usual proceeding in such cases if the state disavowed the act complained of.

7. **Aegatis**: the victory of C. Lutatius Catulus off these islands in B.C. 241 closed the First Punic War. — **Erycem**: here Hamilcar gallantly braved the Romans in the last years of the first war. — **quae**: interrogative.

8. **sed**: the opposition is, 'with a leader such as Hamilcar, we might have expected victory, but we had broken a treaty then as we have now, and naturally the right prevailed.' — **Tarento**: apparently a treaty excluded the Carthaginians from Italy, whereas in 272 B.C. they

had sailed into Tarentum. — **ex foedere**: a natural shorthand expression, almost modern in its abruptness.

9. **vicerunt**: the emphasis here represents that which would have been on *victi sumus*, which Livy is prevented from saying by the turn which he wishes to give to the following. The emphasis is not on dii, as indeed according to the position of the words it cannot be, but on the result as above set forth. The change of the point of view which allows the active instead of the passive is not unnatural in impassioned oratory. — **homines**: properly only the Romans, but used loosely to express the effect of a breach of treaty, — the enmity of heaven and all nations. — **verbis**: opposed to **eventus belli**. — **unde** = *a qua*; cf. *a parte*, *a dextro cornu*, and the like. — **ei . . . dedit**: this form of expression takes the place of *dii iudicavit* which would have governed id; it also adds the man-

- vineas turresque admovet, Carthaginis moenia quatit ariete: Sagunti ruinae — falsus utinam vates sim — nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis
- 11 bellum habendum cum Romanis est. Dedemus ergo Hannibalem? dicet aliquis. Scio meam levem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias; sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse laetatus sum, quod, si ille viveret, bellum iam haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc iuvenem tamquam furiam facemque huius belli odi ac
- 12 detestor; nec dedendum solum ad piaculum rupti foederis, sed, si nemo deposceret, devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque oras ablegandum eo, unde nec ad nos nomen famaue eius accidere neque ille sollicitare
- 13 quietae civitatis statum posset. Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos qui senatui satisfaciant, alios qui Hannibali nuntient ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducatur, ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant; tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddend-

ner in which the decision was expressed.

10. **Carthagini . . . habendum**: notice how the main emphasis changes, first on **Carthagini** as opposed to the, general idea of the war in Spain (hinted at in **Hannibal**, etc.), then on **Sagunti** as opposed to **nostris**, then on **susceptum** as opposed to **habendum**, while the other opposition, **Saguntinis . . . Romanis**, is left in the second place. Only the most careful reading can show the marvelous power of the Latin order in this respect.

11. **in eo**, in regard to him (**Hannibal**). — **paternas**: *i.e.* with Hamilcar. — **sed**: *i.e.* 'I know my words will not have much weight, but still I will say, that as I rejoiced in Hamilcar's death from patriotic

reasons, so I hate this youth from the same motives.' — **iam**: *i.e.* he would have carried out his designs against Rome before now. — **furiam facemque**: the figure is drawn from the pursuit of criminals by the Furies armed with torches, as represented on the stage and in works of art. — **huius**: opposed to the one Hamilcar had in mind.

12. **dedendum**: connected by **nec** with **tamquam furiam**, etc., and thus dependent on **detestor**. — **deposceret**: *deposcit*, the reading of the best MSS., seems impossible, as the demand is represented as already made (6). But in the enthusiasm of his rhetoric Livy may have forgotten what preceded. — **accidere**: an improvement on *accidere* of the MSS., first suggested by Gronov.

das decerno.' Cum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium ¹¹ certare oratione cum eo necesse fuit: adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat; infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium legatum Romanum. Responsum inde legatis Romanis est, bellum ² ortum ab Saguntinis, non ab Hannibale esse; populum Romanum iniuste facere si Saguntinos vetustissimae Carthaginienſium ſocietati praeponat.

Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, ³ Hannibal, quia fessum militem proeliis operibusque habebat, paucorum iis dierum quietem dedit stationibus ad custodiam vinearum aliorumque operum dispositis. ⁷ Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostis stimulando, ¹ nunc spe praemiorum accendit; ut vero pro contione ⁴ praedam captae urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videretur posse. Saguntini ut a proeliis quietem ⁵ habuerant nec lacescentes nec lacesiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte, non die umquam cessaverant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea parte, qua patefactum oppidum

13. decerno: see 6. 6 n.

11. adeo, *in fact, for*: a new use of this word, frequent in Livy and later writers, to add a strong explanation or reason for a preceding assertion. Strictly the word introduces the antecedent to a result clause, but here the order is reversed, and the two clauses are made co-ordinate.

CONTINUATION OF THE SIEGE OF SAGUNTUM.

3. legationibus: rhetorical plural, as the personnel was the same on the two missions; cf. 6. 8 and 10. 1 n. — Hannibal, etc.: the story goes back to 9. 2. The ac-

tivity of Hannibal, which is the real antithesis to *terunt*, is omitted and only implied in the whole narrative. — *habebat*: the use of this word emphasizes the statement by dwelling on it, as it were, which *miles erat* would not do. — *paucorum*: with its usual negative meaning, *only a few*, which agrees with the whole tone of the story. — *stimulando*: explanatory of *ira*, in a manner matching *praemiorum*.

4. vero: cf. 7. 10 n. — *pro contione*, *in an address*; a technical expression. — *datum esset*, etc.: the direct would be *si . . . datum erit nulla vi . . . potest*.

5. ut . . . ita: see 7. 6 n. — *ut . . .*

6 ruinis erat, reficerent. Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto
 atrocior quam ante adorta est, nec qua primum aut
 potissimum parte ferrent opem, cum omnia variis clamo-
 7 ribus streperent, satis scire poterant. Ipse Hannibal,
 qua turris mobilis omnia munimenta urbis superans alti-
 tudine agebatur, hortator aderat. Quae cum admota
 catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata dispositis
 8 muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal occasionem
 ratus quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subru-
 endum ab imo murum mittit. Nec erat difficile opus,
 quod caementa non calce durata erant, sed interlita luto
 9 structurae antiquae genere. Itaque latius quam qua
 caederetur ruebat, perque patentia ruinis agmina arma-
 10 torum in urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capi-
 unt collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum
 in ipsa urbe velut arcem imminemtem haberent, muro
 circumdant; et Saguntini murum interiorem ab nondum
 11 capta parte urbis ducunt. Vtrunque summa vi et muni-
 unt et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies
 12 urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium
 longa obsidione et minuitur exspectatio externae opis,
 cum tam procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hos-

reficerent: probably conceived as purpose, as is indicated by the tense, which would be likely to be in the perfect to express the result; but in any case the result is implied. The ideas of purpose and result, though very different in origin, often approach very near each other.

6. **potissimum**: in its usual meaning of *rather than elsewhere*. — **omnia**, *all sides*. The Latin delights in such indefinite words to be explained by the context.

8. **tabulata**: the stories of the tower. — **caementa**: loose stones or rubble. — **calce**: *i.e.* mortar.

9. **caederetur**: iterative subjunctive. — **patentia ruinis**, *the breach*. This use of the neuter plural of participles, etc., as nouns, is rare in earlier times, but becomes more and more common in imperial Latin.

10. **locum quoque**, etc.: *i.e.* not only do the forces march into the city as bands of soldiers, but they establish themselves in a permanent position as a fortress. — **arcem**: most cities were built with a small stronghold on a height, and the rest of the city round about, at a lower level; cf. the situation of

tium essent. Paulisper tamen adfectos animos recreavit 13
 repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi dilectus acerbitate consternati
 retentis conquisitoribus metum defectionis cum prae-
 buissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota
 arma. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat Mahar- 12
 bale Himilconis filio — eum praefecerat Hannibal —
 ita impigre rem agente ut ducem abesse nec cives nec
 hostes sentirent. Is et proelia aliquot secunda fecit 2
 et tribus arietibus aliquantum muri discussit strataque
 omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti Hannibali ostendit.
 Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atrox- 3
 que proelium cum multorum utrimque caede initum et
 pars arcis capta est.

Temptata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes,
 Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco 4
 insciis Saguntinis, precibus aliquid moturum ratus, cum
 ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacri-
 mae movebant condicionesque tristes ut ab irato victore
 ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud hostem
 mansit, moriturum adfirmans, qui sub condicionibus iis

Athens. — et: *i.e.* as well as the Carthaginians.

13. *dilectus*: *i.e.* of the soldiers which they were required to furnish. — *acerbitate*: the severity of a levy consisted in taking large numbers of every age, and allowing few excuses. — *conquisitoribus*: the officers sent to make the conscription. — *metum*: see *timoris*, 7. 7 n.

12. *nec*: in opposition to what one might expect from Hannibal's absence. — *cives*: *i.e.* his own citizens, the army. — *sentirent*: in contradiction to 11. 13, but of course it is only a rhetorical exaggeration.

ALCO AND ALORCUS TRY TO NEGOTIATE A PEACE.

3. *temptata*, etc.: in the favorite Latin way of trying to say two things at once, namely, that the hope was a very slight one and that it was tried.

4. *moturum*: *sc. se*; Livy very freely omits the subject of an infinitive, especially with the future; cf. *moriturum*, below; 13. 8; 18. 14; XXII. 51. 2. — *movebant*: the peculiar use of the imperfect where we should say 'could' or the like; hence the tense is allowed with *postquam*. — *moriturum*, *that it would be sure death to any one*.

- 5 de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, redderent res Turdetanis traditoque omni auro atque argento egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habitarent ubi Poenus
6 iussisset. Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos ubi alia vincantur adfirmans, se pacis eius interpretem fore pollicetur; erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice
7 Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium transgressus munimenta ad praetorem Saguntinum — et ipse ita iubebat — est deductus.
8 Quo cum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset factus, summoti cetera multitudine senatus Alorco
18 datus est, cuius talis oratio fuit: 'Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad Hannibalem venit, ita pacis condiciones ab Hannibale ad vos rettulisset,

5. *postulabatur autem*, now the demands were. — *redderent res*: the technical term for making restitution; cf. 10. 6 n. — *tradito*, etc.: *i.e.* so that it should not be hidden. Other property would remain in the city to be plundered. — *egressi*: they were to abandon the place and leave it to the Carthaginians. — *singulis*, etc.: *i.e.* with only the clothing they had on.

6. *animos*, spirit, pride, which would prevent them from accepting the proposed terms. — *alia*: *i.e.* their means of resistance. — *interpretem*, messenger, agent (acting unofficially); originally a broker between merchants in foreign trade, hence its later meaning. — *pollicetur*: used of voluntary offers. — *tum*: in opposition to his condition in time of peace. — *publice*: *i.e.* recognized by the state. This relation of *hospitium*, leading on to mutual services and protection, existed either between individuals or states, and was a substitute for con-

sular relations and the like in commercial intercourse. Alorcus had probably engaged in trade with the city. It was in this way that such relations arose. — *amicus*, personal friend, as opposed to the other relation.

7. *praetorem*: used in the Italian sense of chief magistrate. — *et ipse*, etc.: as opposed to his being arrested and taken to headquarters as a spy, or the like.

8. *quo*: *i.e.* to headquarters. — *submota*: the technical term for excluding witnesses; cf. XXII. 56. 1. — *senatus*: the praetor seems to have convened the Senate at once. — *datus est*: the technical term for giving an audience of the Senate.

18. *civis*: the emphasis opposes Alco to the speaker, a foreigner. — *venit*, went; cf. 19. 7. — *quo*, on which (*sc. itinere*). — *orator*: cf. *interpretes*, 12. 6 n. In the case supposed he would have been an official legate. — *transfugâ*: the

supervacaneum hoc mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis nec transfuga ad vos venissem : cum ille aut² vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem — sua, si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus, — ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro vetusto hospitio, quod mihi vobiscum est, ad vos veni. Vestra autem³ causa me nec ullius alterius loqui quae loquor apud vos, vel ea fides sit, quod neque dum vestris viribus restitistis neque dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis, pacis umquam apud vos mentionem feci. Postquam nec ab⁴ Romanis vobis ulla est spes nec vestra vos iam aut arma aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem adfero ad vos magis necessariam quam aequam. Cuius ita aliqua⁵ spes est, si eam, quem ad modum ut victor fert Hannibal, sic vos ut victi audietis, et non id quod amittitur in damno, cum omnia victoris sint, sed, quidquid relinquatur pro munere, habituri estis. Urbem vobis, quam ex⁶

only other capacity in which he could have come. — **venissem** : depending on the main condition **rettulisset**.

2. **cum**, etc. : giving the real state of the case as opposed to the unreal condition above. — **ille** : opposed to **ego**. The Latin especially likes to oppose persons. — **aliquas** : the emphasis gives the idea, 'that there was a possibility,' etc. — **pro**, *in view of*; properly, 'on behalf of,' a very common use of the preposition.

3. **ea** : referring to **quod**, etc., but attracted as usual into agreement with the predicate noun. — **fides**, *pledge* and so *proof*. — **restitistis** : the perfect with **dum** contrasts the time with some other, here indicating that the time is no more. — **pacis** : the emphasis implies that though Alorcius fought in the war

against the Saguntines, wherein it would have been desirable to bring them to terms, yet he had said nothing about such terms.

4. **postquam**, *now that*, a very common meaning in colloquial language, but rare in classic prose. — **ad vos** : notice the emphasis on the pronouns throughout.

5. **ita . . . si**, *only on condition that*. The pronouns and pronominal adverbs, being indefinite, may be taken either way, as expressing a high degree, or a limitation, as here. — **eam . . . victor** : *i.e.* the hard terms which his position justifies him in offering. — **victi** : *i.e.* you also should have the state of mind corresponding to your position, as his terms correspond with his position.

6. **urbem**, etc. : in this sentence, without opposing particles, a disad-

magna parte dirutam, captam fere totam habet, adimit, agros relinquit, locum adsignaturus, in quo novum oppidum aedificetis. Aurum et argentum omne publicum
 7 privatumque ad se iubet deferri; corpora vestra, coniugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes
 8 cum binis vestimentis ⁴⁶velitis ab Sagunto exire. Haec victor hostis imperat; haec, quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei facta sit, aliquid
 9 ex his [rebus] remissurum; sed vel haec patienda censeo potius, quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi trahique ante ora vestra coniuges ac liberos belli iure sinatis.'

- 14 Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim multitudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum conlatum in ignem ad id raptim factum coni-

vantage is in each case matched with a compensating advantage. — *dirutam, captam habet*: almost the same as *diruit, cepit*, though here the continued effect of the action is emphasized. In this use of *habeo* is the origin of the auxiliary 'have' in the Romance languages.

7. *binis*: this can only be correct in case *singulis* in 12. 5 means an extra suit of clothing, which it probably does not. But as this is all written in the spirit of ancient historians as a rhetorical exercise, Livy may have put it wrong himself. — *ab*: the preposition is often thus used by Livy, though contrary to the regular usage.

8. *haec, this is what*. — *victor*: cf. *victor* in 5, above. — *quamquam sunt, though they ARE*. — *equidem*: concessive, referring to

sed in 9. — *haud despero, I am not without hope*. — *cum*: temporal.

9. *trucidari, etc.*: which would be the result of continued resistance. — *rapi, etc.*: *i.e.* dragged away as slaves, with a suggestion of violence in the process.

THE FALL OF SAGUNTUM.

14. *circumfusa*: as if the crowd had forced itself in again, though excluded before. — *concilium*: the word hints at the people taking part, or likely to do so, in the deliberations, as if in their own assembly. It is to prevent such action that the leaders resort to heroic remedies. — *secessione*: *i.e.* they hastily withdrew from the meeting. — *publico, etc.*: properly of place,

cientes eodem plerique semet ipsi praecipitaverunt. Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasis-
 et, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur. Turre diu
 quassata prociderat, perque ruinam eius cohors Poeno-
 rum impetu facto cum signum imperatori dedisset nuda-
 tam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem,
 non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal totis
 viribus adgressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato, ut
 omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium cru-
 dele, ceterum prope necessarium cognitum ipso eventu
 est. Cui enim parci potuit ex iis qui aut inclusi cum
 coniugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concrema-
 verunt aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam
 morientes fecerunt? Captum oppidum est cum ingenti
 praeda. Quamquam pleraque ab dominis de industria
 corrupta erant et in caedibus vix ullum discrimen aetatis
 ira fecerat et captivi militum praeda fuerant, tamen et

but here referring to deposits or stocks on hand. — *eodem*, with it into the flames. — *plerique*: in partitive apposition with *primores*. It cannot be too often repeated, that ancient literature is addressed to the ear, and proceeds like conversation, with changes of the point of view and corrections as the thought proceeds. It is not necessary in such cases to reconstruct sentences in English in order to say, really, something different from what the author has said. We must proceed as in conversation, and make the corrections as we go on. Here, 'the leaders hastily withdrew, etc. . . . and . . . threw themselves, many of them, into,' etc.

2. *nudatam*, etc.: the information given by the storming party. The disturbance in the city had called off the soldiers, or demoralized them.

3. *momento*: earlier writers add *temporis* or *horae*; cf. 33. 10. — *ut omnes*, etc.: the regular usage of war when a city was taken by storm. — *crudele*, etc.: again a violation of strict grammar (cf. note on *plerique*, above). — We must supply here the *fuit* that Livy doubtless meant to put in. — *cognitum*, shown.

4. *cui enim* etc.: i.e. their desperate character was shown by this behavior. — *ante*: taken with *quam*, from which it is often separated.

15. *captum*, etc.: almost like 'the capture of the town yielded a great deal of booty.' — *ingenti*: this shows that the preceding account is exaggerated, and Livy accordingly apologizes in the following. — *captivi*, etc.: i.e. and so were not made public property.

2. *fuerant*: in reference to the

ex pretio rerum venditarum aliquantum pecuniae redactum esse constat et multam pretiosam supellectilem vestemque missam Carthaginem.

- 3 Octavo mense quam coeptum oppugnari captum Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem Novam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde mense quam ab Carthagine profectus sit, in Italiam pervenisse.
- 4 Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit ut P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo
- 5 aliquanto post ad Trebiam, pugnaverint. Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere aut Saguntum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerunt, non
- 6 coeptum oppugnari est, sed captum. Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servili et C. Flamini

time of *redactum esse*. — *redactum*, *realized*: the technical expression in such cases for covering into the treasury. — *vestem*: including rugs and precious textile fabrics of all kinds. These things, as is still the case with Eastern nations, were objects of wealth.

CHRONOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES.

3. *octavo mense*: a construction without *post*, apparently colloquial in its character. — *coeptum*: *sc. sit*. Against republican usage Livy sometimes omits subjunctive forms. — *quidam*: *cf. Polybius, III. 17*, and if Livy had consistently followed this authority, he would have avoided all this muddle, and the mistake at 6. 3. The embassy from Saguntum to Rome was in the consulship of M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus, 219 B.C. Aurelius Victor says (42. 2), *Hannibal*

Saguntum intra sex menses evertit. — *Carthagine*: *sc. Nova*.

4. *fieri non potuit*: depending on the supposition that the statements *are true (ita sunt)*, in which case the facts *were* as stated, so that the proper logical connection is not really violated. — *ad quos*, etc. . . . *et qui*, etc.: the difficulty is that the thirteen months, besides the time which Hannibal spent in winter quarters, are too long for one consulate. — *ad Ticinum*: see 45. — *ad Trebiam*: see 55, 56.

5. *fuere, fuerunt*: Livy uses either form with apparent indifference; thus in c. 5 the three perfects all end in *-ere*, in c. 14 the three end in *-erunt*. — *principio anni*: the consuls now entered office March 15.

6. *excessisse in*, *have fallen as late as*; but the idea in Latin is of the *progress* of events and of time. — *pugna ad Trebiam*: *sc. facta*; *cf. 58. 11*. Such condensed adjectives

non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consulatum iniit, creatule a Ti. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam cum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

Sub idem fere tempus et legati, qui redierant ab 16 Carthagine, Romam rettulerunt omnia hostilia esse, et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; tantusque simul 2 maeror patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginenses metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si iam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis quam consulerent: nam neque 3 hostem acriorem bellicosioeremque secum congressum nec rem Romanam tam desidem umquam fuisse atque imbellem. Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios 4 lacessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum; Poenum 5 7 hostem veteranum trium et viginti annorum militia durissima inter Hispanas gentes, semper victorem, duci

tive expressions are an innovation of which Livy is very fond; cf. 25. 14, *ad tempus*; 53. 4, *cis Hiberum*; XXII. 42. 2, *in castris*. — *Servili*: the year 217 B.C. — *quia*, etc.: the gist of all this is that the consuls of B.C. 217 were elected under the presidency of Sempronius who did not go to Rome to hold the election till after the battle of Trebia, and returned afterwards to his command.

ALARM IN ROME.

16. *legati*: see 6. 4 and 9. 3.

2. *que . . . et . . . et . . . que*: a characteristic, arbitrary use of conjunctions. — *pudor non lati*, etc., *shame that they had not given*, etc.;

cf. 1. 5 n. — *summa rerum*, *the fortunes of the city*, as opposed to special matters of interest.

3. *nam*: connecting an imaginary verb of thinking, which, in such cases, constantly remains unexpressed. — *rem Romanam*: Livy is fond of using *res* for the State; cf. *rem Carthaginiensem*, 2. 5; *res Latina*, I. 3. 1. This phrase is in Ennius (*moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque*) and later poetry.

4. *Sardos*, etc.: the wars are enumerated to show that the Romans had had no practice in arms, to speak of, since the First Punic War. The statements are somewhat in contradiction to those in 1. 2. — *tumultuatum*: any sudden and unorganized military action was

acerrimo adusuetum, recentem ab excidio opulentissimae
6 urbis Hiberum transire, trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos, concitum avidas semper armorum Gallicas gentes: cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis esse.

- 17 Nominatae iam antea consulibus provinciae erant; tum sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sempronio Africa
2 cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretae legiones et socium quantum ipsis videretur et classis quanta
3 parari posset. Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum milia scripta et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quadraginta milia peditum, quattuor milia et quadringenti equites; naves ducentae viginti quinqueremes, celoces
4 viginti deducti. Latum inde ad populum, vellent iubere populo Carthaginensi bellum indici; eiusque belli causa supplicatio per urbem habita atque adorati dii ut

called *tumultus*, as opposed to *bellum*, a regularly conducted war.

6. *trahere*, etc.: in allusion to the allies of Hannibal.

THE ROMANS PREPARE FOR THE WAR.

17. *nominatae*, etc.: the provinces of the consuls were arranged by the Senate, and afterwards assigned to the respective individuals by lot. The time here referred to is the spring of B.C. 218.

2. in *eum annum*: the levies were, at that time, made for a single campaign, and the soldiers returned home for the care of their crops. The force to be set on foot was decided by the Senate.—*legiones*: composed of Roman citizens only.—*socium*: of these, as dependents, there was no limit fixed.—*ipsis*: the consuls.

3. *celoces*, *swift cruisers*; see

Isidore, XIX. 1. 22 *veloces*, quas *Graeci κέλκρας* vocant, id est, *veloces biremes, vel triremes agiles, et ad ministerium classis aptae*. Except in Livy, *celox* is feminine.—*deducti, launched*, and so put in commission.

4. *latum*, etc.: i.e. the formal declaration of war proceeds from the vote of the whole people, while the action of the Senate was only administrative.—*vellent*, etc.: for the direct *velitis iubeatisne, Quirites*, in the vote as put; cf. XXII. 10. 2. The asyndeton is regular in archaic formulas.—*supplicatio*: this was a season of prayer observed by all the people individually, in such of the designated temples as each one chose. The worshiper prostrated himself before the god, kissed his hands and feet, and touched with his forehead the threshold of the temple. This service was not originally Roman, but of Greek origin. Most of the State

bene ac feliciter eveniret quod bellum populus Romanus iussisset.

Inter consules ita copiae divisae: Sempronio datae 5 legiones duae—ea quaterna milia erant peditum et treceni equites—et sociorum sedecim milia peditum, equites mille octingenti, naves longae centum sexaginta, celoces duodecim. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque 6 copiis Ti. Sempronius missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam transmissurus, si ad arcendum Italia Poenum consul alter satis esset. Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia 7 L. Manlius praetor et ipse cum haud invalido praesidio in Galliam mittebatur; navium maxime Cornelio nume- 8 rus deminutus: sexaginta quinqueremes datae—neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant—et duae Romanae legiones cum suo iusto equitatu et⁶ quattuordecim milibus sociorum peditum, equitibus mille sescentis. Duas legiones Romanas 9 et decem milia sociorum peditum, mille equites socios, sescentos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit.

His ita comparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum fie- 18

ceremonies were conducted by the priests alone.

5. *ea*: cf. *ea fides*, 13. 3 n.—*naves longae*: called *quinqueremes*, 3, above.

6. *ita*: cf. 13. 5.—*transmissurus*: cf. 4. 10 n.—*satis esset*, should prove sufficient.

7. *et ipse*: *i.e.* as well as the consul—*Galliam*: Cisalpine Gaul, lately conquered, where he would be near at hand. But Livy assumes that the Romans knew Hannibal's plan at this time, which they probably did not.—*mittebatur*, was going to be sent, a use of the conative imperfect.

8. *ea parte*, that arm of the service: *i.e.* naval force; cf. 53. 1.—*iusto*, regular complement of. The number was three hundred.

9. *provincia*: not a province in the later sense, but a region as the seat of war.—*eodem*: explained by in Punicum bellum.—*versa*: neuter, qualifying the objects of habuit.

SECOND EMBASSY FROM ROME TO CARTHAGE. DECLARATION OF WAR.

18. *iusta*, due formalities, according to the fetial law as held

- rent, legatos maiores natu Q. Fabium M. Livium L. Aemilium C. Licinium Q. Baebium in Africam mittunt ad percunctandos Carthaginienses, publicone consilio
- 2 Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset, et si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent populo Carthaginiensi bellum.
- 3 Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum quod mandatum erat percunctatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus unus: 'Praecepta vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposcebatis; ceterum haec
- 5 legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposcebatur; nunc ab nobis et confessio culpa exprimitur et ut a confessis
- 6 res extemplo repetuntur. Ego autem non privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit quaerendum
- 7 censeam, sed utrum iure an iniuria. Nostra enim haec

between nations.—publicone, etc.: *i.e.* whether it was Hannibal's own unauthorized act or that of the State (cf. 10. 2). As the tone of the embassy here is much less peremptory than that before (6. 8; 10. 12) described, Livy must be following different sources, and must have confounded the two. This he tries to explain in 4, below.

2. *defenderent*, etc.: if they disavowed the act, they would not of course defend it; but if they defended it, they would naturally avow it.—*factum, as done*.—*ut indicerent*: parallel with the other form of purpose, *ad percunctandos*.

3. *datus esset*: cf. 12. 8.

4. *et, even*: the adversative turn introduced by *ceterum* prevents the ordinary *et . . . et* correlation.—*tamquam . . . oppugnantem*,

on the ground that he was besieging; a new use of *tamquam* and the participle to give an alleged reason, probably borrowed from the Greek *ὡς* with a participle.—*suo*: as opposed to *publico*.—*ceterum*, etc.: implying that this embassy was hasty also, and even more so than the other.—*adhuc*: *i.e.* 'nothing appears so far, but we don't know what you will say next.'

5. *nobis*: opposed to Hannibal.—*et . . . et*: the demand to admit the wrong and the demand for restitution came together at once.—*exprimitur*: conative present.

6. *privato*: *i.e.* Hannibal's.—*quaerendum censeam*: a regular formula for senatorial opinions. The modesty of the subjunctive is ironical.

7. *nostra . . . est, is a matter for*

quaestio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio; vobiscum una disceptatio est, licueritne per foedus fieri. Itaque, quoniam discerni placet quid publico consilio, quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum foedus est a C. Lutatio consule ictum, in quo cum caveretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis — necdum enim erant socii vestri — cautum est. At enim eo foedere, quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est, Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum, nisi quod a vobis didici. Vos enim quod C. Lutatius consul primo nobiscum foedus icit, quia neque ex auctoritate patrum nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri; itaque aliud de integro foedus publico consilio ictum est. Si vos non tenent foedera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut iussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdrubalis foedus, quod nobis insciis

us to consider. — atque animadversio, and the consequent punishment. — quid, etc.: the form is determined by quaestio, atque . . . nostrum being a kind of parenthesis. — vobiscum: opposed to nostra. — una, only one. — fieri: the subject implied is *oppugnationem*.

8. itaque, well then, introducing, after the ironical parenthesis, quoniam . . . faciant, the speaker's discussion of treaty obligations. — quid, etc.: i.e. 'since it is your pleasure to make the question turn on the responsibility of the State for the acts of its generals, we have a case which turns on the same question, for it is only on the second treaty that the independence of the Saguntines depends, and that was made by Hasdrubal and never ratified by us.' Livy has well caught the difference between the formal and law-abiding Romans and the Carthaginians, who were less capa-

ble of seeing a legal point, and less tenacious of forms. Much that has the appearance of quibbling in Roman diplomacy depends on this feature of their character and the want of it in other nations. — foedus: i.e. the treaty after Catulus' victory in 241 B.C. — caveretur: a legal word meaning to provide for by stipulation.

9. at enim: the regular formula to introduce an objection which is to be met and parried. — Hasdrubale, etc.: the first treaty was not ratified, but a commission sent to Carthage made a new treaty which Hasdrubal afterwards renewed (see 2. 7), apparently with an additional clause. — excipiuntur, are expressly provided for, being 'taken out' of the general words and mentioned apart. — nisi quod, etc.: see note above on quid, etc.

11. ne . . . quidem, not . . . either, as often.

- 12 icit, obligare potuit. Proinde omittite Sagunti atque
 Hiberi mentionem facere, et, quod diu parturit animus
 13 vester, aliquando pariat.' Tum Romanus sinu ex toga
 facto 'Hic' inquit 'vobis bellum et pacem portamus:
 utrum placet, sumite.' Sub hanc vocem haud minus
 14 ferociter, daret utrum vellet, succlamatum est. Et cum
 is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se
 omnes responderunt et, quibus acciperent animis, isdem
 se gesturos.
- 19 Haec derecta percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli magis
 ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum
 iure verbis disceptare, cum ante, tum maxime Sagunto
 2 excisa. Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset, quid

12. **proinde**: the regular particle to introduce a recommendation, or the like, after a preamble or statement of facts. — **quod diu**, etc.: it is implied that the talk about Saguntum is only a pretense, and they have meant all the time to declare war. — **aliquando**, *at last*; literally 'some time,' 'if you are ever going to.' Cf. Cic. *Phil.* II. 118 *ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat quod iam diu parturit*.

13. **Romanus**: Fabius Maximus Cunctator, the final conqueror of Hannibal, who as senior envoy was the spokesman. — **sinu**, etc.: Livy evidently means that the loose end of the toga is taken up like an apron to hold something. — **sub**, *at*, as following. — **daret**, etc.: in direct form, *da utrum vis*. — **succlamatum est**: merely a repetition with *clamare* of the *sub* already expressed.

14. **iterum**: used like our *again* to indicate the restoration to the former position. He first made the folds into a bag as if to hold something, and then let them out *again*.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TREATIES.

19. **percunctatio**: *i.e.* the demand as to which the Carthaginians wished, peace or war. — **denuntiatio**: the consequent declaration. — **excisa**: a variation from the usual gender, implying a nominative *Saguntus*; cf. *Zacynthos*.

2. **nam**: introducing what might have been said convincingly to justify the silence of the ambassadors on these points. — **esset**: another case in which the contrary-to-fact construction, in accordance with its origin (see Gr. 308, first footnote), can hardly be distinguished from the future condition thrown back into past time. If Livy had been arguing the question at the time, he would have said, *si . . . sit . . . comparandum est* (Gr. 307. *d* and *f*); but in the transfer to past time the contrary-to-fact idea comes to the surface, so that one feels that the real case, the treating the matter as a *casus belli*, shows itself as contrary to the idea contained in *verborum . . . esset*. — **quid . . .**

foedus Hasdrubalis cum Lutatii priore foedere, quod mutatum est, comparandum erat, cum in Lutatii foedere diserte additum esset, ita id ratum fore, si populus censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit, et tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo comprobatum sit foedus ut ne mortuo quidem auctore quicquam mutaretur? Quamquam, et si priore foedere staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis sociis utrorumque exceptis. Nam neque additum erat 'iis qui tunc essent' nec 'ne qui postea adsumerentur'; et cum adsumere novos liceret socios, quis aequum censeret aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi aut receptos in fidem non defendi, tantum ne Carthaginensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua sponte desciscentes reciperentur?

Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae imperaturum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates ut in societatem perlicerent aut averterent a Poenis, traie-

comparandum erat, what comparison was there?

3. *Lutati*: cf. 18. 8.—*diserte*, in so many words.—*ita . . . si*, only on condition that; limiting, as often.—*censuisset*: for future perfect in the treaty.—*exceptum*: cf. 18. 9.—*eo*: i.e. Hasdrubal.—*mutaretur*: the emphasis is on the approval; if it were on the change, we should have *mutatum sit*.

4. *quamquam*: corrective, as often.—*staretur*: not different in point of view from *esset*, above, but the apodosis is here of a different kind. In a direct form it would be, 'If we should stand by, etc., even then sufficient provision has been made,' etc., where the real logical apodosis is absorbed in *cautum est*, 'that would make no difference, for,' etc.—*nam*, etc.: i.e. the

provision was unlimited, and so might be held to apply both to existing allies and those afterwards acquired.—*essent*: indirectly quoted.

5. *censeret*: subjunctive in an indignant question thrown into past time.—*ob nulla quemquam*, that no one on account of any.—*tantum ne . . . sollicitarentur*: again a proviso (in a hortatory form) thrown back into the past by the general point of view of Livy's argument.

THE ROMAN EMBASSY IN SPAIN AND GAUL.

6. *ab Carthagine*: cf. *ab Sagunto*, 13. 7.—*adirent*: the tenor of their instructions, depending on *imperatum*.—*perlicerent*: the purpose, pose of adirent.—*aut*, or at least implied by the exclusive meaning

7 cerunt. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt, a quibus benigne excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos trans Hiberum populos ad cupidinem novae fortunae erexerunt. Ad Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natus ex iis in concilio respondit: 'Quae verecundia est, Romani, postulare vos uti vestram Carthaginensium amicitiae praeponomamus, cum qui id fecerunt [Saguntini], crudelius quam Poenus hostis perdidit, vos socii prodideritis?' 10 Ibi quaeratis socios censeo ubi Saguntina clades ignota est; Hispanis populis sicut lugubre ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinae erunt, ne quis fidei Romanae aut societati confidat.' 11 Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum iussi ab nullo deinde concilio Hispaniae benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequiquam peragrata Hispania in Galliam transeunt. In iis nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati — ita mos gentis erat — 2 in concilium venerunt. Cum verbis extollentes gloriam virtutemque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent ne Poeno bellum Italia inferenti per agros 3 urbesque suas transitum darent, tantus cum fremitu

of *aut* ('or, if they couldn't do that,' etc.).

7. a quibus, etc.: *i.e.* 'from whom they had a welcome reception, which,' etc., like the common Latinism *ab urbe condita*. It is the reception, not the ambassadors, that is the real subject of *erexerunt*.

9. *verecundia*, *sense of decency*. — *qui*: supply *eos*. — *Saguntini*: most editors follow Madvig in expunging this as weakening the effect of *Saguntina clades*.

10. *censeo*: here ironical. — *sicut* . . . *ita*: almost if not quite the same use of these words as the

common one where we should say *although* . . . *yet*. The example was a painful and tragic, but a forcible and unmistakable, warning.

20. in iis: *i.e.* in Gallis, implied in Galliam before. — *armati*: originally no doubt the practice among the Romans, as is shown by the military character of the comitia, but long since abandoned in the advance of civilization. Tacitus, *G.* 11, describes the character and customs of similar assemblies among the Germans.

3. *tantus*, etc., *such boisterous laughter*, no doubt accompanied by

risus dicitur ortus ut vix a magistratibus maioribusque natu iuventus sedaretur; adeo stolidi impudensque 4 postulatio visa est censere, ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id avertere in se agrosque suos pro alienis populandos obicere. Sedato tandem fremitu re- 5 sponsum legatis est, neque Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginiensium iniuriam ob quae aut pro Romanis aut adversus Poenos sumant arma; contra ea 6 audire sese, gentis suae homines agro finibusque Italiae pelli a populo Romano stipendiumque pendere et cetera indigna pati. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae conciliis 7 dicta auditaque; nec hospitale quicquam pacatumve satis prius auditum quam Massiliam venere. Ibi omnia 8 ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita: praeoccupatos iam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore—adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse—, ni subinde auro, cuius avidissima gens est, principum animi concilientur. Ita peragratis Hispaniae Galliaeque populis legati Ro- 9 mam redeunt haud ita multo post quam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem exspectatione belli erectam invenerunt, satis constante fama iam Hiberum Poenos tramisisse.

Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem Novam in 21 hiberna concesserat, ibique auditis quae Romae quae-

cries of displeasure.—*sedaretur*: cf. *mularetur*, 19. 3.

4. *censere*: in apposition with *postulatio*, and followed by the accusative and infinitive instead of the usual gerundive, or subjunctive with *ut* or *ne*.—*ne*, etc.: the purpose of *avertere*.

6. *gentis*, etc.: cf. 25. 2.

8. *ab sociis*: cf. 25. 1. The alliance was of long standing, Mar-

seilles being a Greek city, even more advanced in civilization, at that time than Rome.—*inquisita*, etc.: the main verb is *cognita* (*sunt*).—*illi*: *i.e.* Hannibal; even *he* would find them hard to manage.—*subinde*, *from time to time*; not found in prose before Livy; cf. French *souvent*, Ital. *sovente*.

9. *ita*: *i.e.* with this result as set forth above.

que Carthagine acta decretaque forent, seque non
 2 ducem solum sed etiam causam esse belli, partitis di-
 venditisque reliquiis praedae nihil ultra differendum
 3 ratus Hispani generis milites convocat. 'Credo ego
 vos' inquit, 'socii, et ipsos cernere, pacatis omnibus Hi-
 spaniae populis aut finiendam nobis militiam exercitus-
 que dimittendos esse aut in alias terras transferendum
 4 bellum; ita enim hae gentes non pacis solum sed etiam
 victoriae bonis floreunt, si ex aliis gentibus praedam
 5 et gloriam quaeremus. Itaque cum longinqua a domo
 instet militia incertumque sit quando domos vestras et
 quae cuique ibi cara sunt visuri sitis, si quis vestrum
 6 suos invisere volt, commeatum do. Primo vere edico
 adsitis, ut diis bene iuvantibus bellum ingentis gloriae
 7 praedaeque futurum incipiamus.' Omnibus fere visendi
 domos oblata ultro potestas grata erat, et iam desideran-
 tibus suos et longius in futurum providentibus deside-
 8 rium. Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut
 iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit corpora

HANNIBAL PREPARES TO INVADE
 ITALY.

21. forent: Livy is very fond of this unusual form, especially as an auxiliary, using it practically like *essent*, though sometimes the proper difference between them ('becoming' and 'being') may be detected (Riemann, *Tit-Live*,² pp. 226-233). — seque, etc.: *i.e.* he heard the facts which proved this. — causam: *i.e.* by his conduct in regard to Saguntum.

2. partitis divenditisque: according to Roman usage, by which the booty was given to the soldiers, or sold for the state. — reliquiis: see 15. 2. — ultra: he had waited over one season in the campaign against Saguntum; but probably

this is only inserted rhetorically by Livy, as Hannibal would naturally wait for the beginning of the next year.

3. credo: the emphasis opposes the idea of his addressing them to their knowledge of the facts. 'I suppose you know, but still I will say,' etc. — ego: expressed on account of the fondness of the Romans for contrasted pronouns. The emphasis is really on vos. — socii, pacatis: used according to Roman ideas; cf. *Pax Romana*.

4. ita: limiting, 'only so.' — hae gentes: *i.e.* the conquered nations of Spain.

6. adsitis: without *ut*, as often; cf. *quaeratis censeo*, 19. 10.

7. ultro: *i.e.* without their asking for it.

- animosque ad omnia de integro patienda. Vere primo
 • ad edictum convenere.

Hannibal, cum recensisset omnium gentium auxilia, 9
 Gadis profectus Herculi vota exsolvit novisque se obli-
 gat votis, si cetera prospera evenissent. Inde partiens 10
 curas simul in inferendum atque arcendum bellum, ne,
 dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere
 Italiam peteret, nuda apertaue Romanis Africa ab
 Sicilia esset, valido praesidio firmare eam statuit. Pro 11
 eo supplementum ipse ex Africa maxime iaculatorum,
 levium armis, petiit, ut Afri in Hispania, Hispani in
 Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles,
 velut mutuis pigneribus obligati, stipendia facerent.
 Tredecim milia octingentos quinquaginta pedites cae- 12
 tratos misit in Africam et funditores Baleares octingen-
 tos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille
 ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini praesidio esse, 13
 partim distribui per Africam iubet. Simul conquisitori-
 bus in civitates missis quattuor milia conscripta delectae
 ? iuventutis, praesidium eosdem et obsides, duci Cartha-
 ginem iubet. Neque Hispaniam neglegendam ratus, 22

8. *vere primo*: *primo vere* (6) is more usual; cf. Ital. *primavera*.

9. *recensisset*, reviewed and numbered. — *Herculi*: originally a Phoenician divinity; he is here identified with his double, the Carthaginian Melkarth. — *vota*: *i.e.* those for the victory at Saguntum. — *evenissent*: an indirect quotation from the vow.

10. *partiens . . . in*: between the two, giving some to one and some to the other; hence the accusative with *in*. — *inferendum*, etc., *attack and defense*. — *ne*, etc.: explaining *arcendum*. — *ab Sicilia*: *i.e.* to attacks proceeding from that quarter.

11. *pro eo*: *i.e.* in place of the force sent home to Africa, expressed in *praesidio*. — *melior*, etc.: for this explanation awkwardly tacked on in the style of later Latin, we may say, 'where each,' etc. — *mutuis pigneribus*: each pledged to be faithful to the other, because each could only defend his own country by being faithful to the common cause, and so defending the other's.

12. *caetratos*: light infantry armed with the *caetra*, a targe like the *pella*, or like the shield of the Scotch Highlanders. — *mixtos*: as opposed to the *Baleares*.

13. *civitates*: *i.e.* of Africa.

- atque id eo minus, quod haud ignarus erat circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad sollicitandos principum animos, Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, eam provinciam destinat firmatque Africis maxime praesidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim milibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Balearibus quingentis. Ad haec peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphoenices, mixtum Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti quinquaginta et Numidae Maurique accolae Oceani ad mille octingenti et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, trecenti equites, et, ne quod terrestris deesset auxilii genus, elephantum viginti unus. Classis praeterea data tuendae maritimae orae, quia, qua parte belli vicerant, ea tum quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque.
- Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus redit; atque inde profectus praeter Onusam urbem ad Hiberum per maritimam oram ducit. Ibi fama est in quiete visum ab eo iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum: proinde seque-

22. 2. Hasdrubali: see Horace, *C. IV. 4. 70.* — provinciam, as a *field of operations*; see 5. 1 n.

3. ad (mille): adverb, equivalent to *ferè* or *circa*. — terrestris: probably used with reference to *classis*, which is immediately to follow, as if he had said, 'to have every kind of *land forces* represented (besides the fleet which was to be given).'

4. tuendae orae: genitive, characterizing *classis* and giving the end or purpose of *data (est)*; Gr. 298. R. — qua parte: *i.e.* in naval

warfare. — vicerant: in the previous war. — triginta, etc.: *i.e.* only thirty, etc., fully equipped.

HANNIBAL'S DREAM.

5. Gadibus: see 21. 9. Polybius says nothing of this visit to Cadiz. — Onusam: the name is constructed from *omissam* of the MSS., with the aid of XXII. 20. 4.

6. ibi fama, etc.: for another version of the dream, on the authority of Coelius Antipater, see

retur neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos. Pavidum 7
 primo nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem se-
 cutum; deinde cura ingenii humani, cum quidnam id
 esset quod respicere vetitus esset, agitare animo, tem-
 perare oculis nequuisse; tum vidisse post sese serpen- 8
 tem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgul-
 torum strage ferri, ac post insequi cum fragore caeli
 nimbum. Tum, quae moles ea quidve prodigii esset 9
 quaerentem, audisse vastitatem Italiae esse: pergeret
 porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto
 esse.

Hoc visu laetus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit 23
 praemissis qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exer-
 citus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus spe-
 cularentur. Nonaginta milia peditum, duodecim milia
 equitum Hiberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bargusi- 2
 osque, et Ausetanos et Lacetaniam, quae subiecta Pyre-
 naeis montibus est, subegit oraeque huic omni praefecit
 Hannonem, ut fauces, quae Hispanias Galliis iungunt,
 in potestate essent. Decem milia peditum Hannoni ad 3
 praesidium obtinendae regionis data et mille equites.
 Postquam per Pyrenaeum saltum traduci exercitus est 4

Cic. *de Div.* I. 24. 49. — *neque:*
neve would be more orthodox. —
deflecteret: *i.e.* to look behind
 him. The notion that in such cases
 the divine manifestation should not
 be examined too closely is a very old
 one, and appears in religious myths
 and fairy stories without number,
e.g. Orpheus, Deucalion, Demophon,
 Cupid and Psyche, Lohengrin, and
 others.

7. *cura, curiosity*, with which the
 word is akin.

9. *moles ea, the monster*, itself.
 — *prodigii:* *i.e.* its divine meaning,
 the question being naturally divided

into two phases, though the answer
 gives them both in one.

HANNIBAL'S MARCH TO THE PYRENEES.

23. *qua* (along the road), *where*.
 — *transitus, passes*.

2. *fauces:* a regular word for
 passes.

3. *obtinendae regionis:* a gen-
 itive of quality depending on *prae-*
sidium, to denote purpose; cf. 22.
 4 n.

4. *saltum:* another word for
 pass or defile; cf. 30. 5, 7; proba-

coeptus rumorque per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria milia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constat non tam bello motos quam longinquitate viae insuperabilique Alpium transitu. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos anceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi irritarentur, supra septem milia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipsos gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans. Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis Pyrenaeum transgreditur et ad oppidum Iliberri castra locat. Galli quamquam Italiae bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenaeum Hispanos fama erat praesidiaque valida imposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati Ruscinonem aliquot populi conveniunt. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, moram magis quam bellum metuens oratores ad regulos eorum misit, conloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle, et vel illi propius Iliberrim accederent, vel se

bly the southernmost pass of the Pyrenees, where later a place was known as *Scalae Hannibalis* (Mela, II. 6. 89). — *insuperabili*: perhaps a Vergilian reminiscence (*Aen.* IV. 40); so *emunitus*, 7. 7; *inviuis*, 25. 13; *tabidus*, 36. 7; *semustus*, XXII. 40. 3. Livy generally says *inexsuperabilis*.

5. *revocare*: i.e. ask them to come back, which would have a bad moral effect on the rest. — *anceps*: i.e. either course would be dangerous. — *ne*, etc.: belonging only with the latter alternative.

6. *supra*, etc.: i.e. he made a virtue of necessity to avoid the ill effects of any other course. — *et ipsos*: i.e. as well as the others, although they had not taken the same decisive measures. — *quoque*: i.e. as well as the other seven thousand.

24. *mora atque otium*: i.e. the delay of the onward march and the consequent idleness of the troops, each of which would be demoralizing. — *Iliberri*: inflected in 3 and 5, where it stands without *oppidum*; cf. *ad oppidum Ilturgi occurrerunt*, XXXIV. 10, with *ad Ilturgin pervenit*, XXVIII. 19.

2. *trans Pyrenaeum Hispanos*: see *pugna ad Trebiam*, 15. 6 n. — *Ruscinonem*: a town on the French side of the Pyrenees preserved to tradition by *La Tour de Roussillon*. — *aliquot populi*: explanatory apposition with *Galli*.

3. *semet . . . velle*: the usual indirect discourse without any verb of saying, except that implied in *oratores*. — *accederent . . . processurum*: notice the two forms of indirect discourse, *request* and *statement*, with their respective con-

Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus
facilior esset: nam et accepturum eos in castra sua
se laetum nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum.
Hospitem enim se Galliae, non hostem advenisse, nec
stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in
Italiam venisset. Et per nuntios quidem haec; ut vero
reguli Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis
haud gravate ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis cum
bona pace exercitum per finis suos praeter Ruscinonem
oppidum transmiserunt.

In Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum transisse
Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum
erat, cum, perinde ac si Alpibus iam transisset, Boi solli-
citis Insubribus defecerunt, nec tam ob veteres in
populum Romanum iras quam quod nuper circa Padum
Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum Gallicum
deductas aegre patiebantur. Itaque armis repente ar-
reptis in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto tantum terroris
ac tumultus fecerunt ut non agrestis modo multitudo

structions, side by side, with a purpose clause (ut ex propinquo, etc.) appended to complete the list of examples.

4. *accepturum . . . venturum*: a very neatly arranged chiasmus. — *hospitem, hostem*: one of Livy's pet alliterations. — *enim*: introducing the reason of his willingness expressed in *laetum* and *nec cunctanter*.

5. *per nuntios*: opposed to the personal interview in the next sentence. — *cum bona pace*, in *peace and friendship*, a stock expression.

RISE IN CISALPINE GAUL, IN ANTICIPATION OF HANNIBAL'S COMING.

25. in *Italiam*: the emphasis marks a change of scene. The

words are later defined by *Romam*.

2. *cum*: the usual '*cum inversum*' with the indicative; see Gr. 325. *b.* — *Boi*: a Celtic tribe of unknown origin that, in the wanderings of their stock, had forced themselves into the valley of the Po and as far down as Bologna. They had been conquered in 224 B.C. (*veteres iras*) after a severe struggle of some years' duration. — *Insubribus*: farther north across the Po in the region of Milan, their capital. — *nuper*: the exact date of these colonies is not known, but it must have been just before this time; cf. 3. — *deductas*: the technical word.

3. *agrum*: the land assigned to the colonists. — *agrestis*, etc.: this

- sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant assignandum, diffisi Placentiae moenibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius C. Servilius M. Annius. Lutatii nomen haud dubium est; pro Annio Servilioque M'. Acilium et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem. Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint, an in triumviros agrum metantis impetus sit factus. Mutinae cum obsiderentur, et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis adsideret muris, simulari coeptum de pace agi, evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad conloquium non contra ius modo gentium sed violata etiam, quae data in id tempus erat, fide comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis, nisi obsides sibi red-

implies that some colonists were already on their land, while the officers were still engaged in finishing their work. — *triumviri*: a Roman colony was an armed settlement of Roman citizens, in or near hostile territory, made to defend the borders from hostile incursions. Each colonist had land assigned him, laid out according to prescribed rules, and a board of commissioners 'led out' the colony and assigned the lands. The colonies in New England and elsewhere were very much like them. Of this similarity we have a reminder in the American word *lot* (of land), 'house and lot.' The local *plot* for the same thing has a like origin. — *diffisi* . . . *moenibus*: the colony could hardly have been abandoned, as it was soon after a strong post. Probably the officials, being important persons, and some of the settlers fled to the stronger position of Modena.

4. *haud dubium*: *i.e.* all agree in giving his name, while in case of

the others there is a discrepancy. Livy's anxiety to be exact in such matters, compared with his free use of his imagination for the sake of graphic liveliness, is almost amusing. — *annales*: the early history was little more than a dry presentation of names and events in chronological order.

6. *Mutinae*: taking the place of an emphatic *here*, which is prevented by the long digression in 4 and 5. — *ad . . . artes rudis*, *unacquainted with the science*. This chapter well illustrates the plastic quality of *ad*. — *coeptum*: *sc. est*. The ellipsis of *est* and *sunt* in the perfect of passive and deponent verbs is unusually frequent in Livy; in this chapter see *praecipitatus* (9), *coeptum* (11), *intratae* (12).

7. *contra ius*: ambassadors were considered sacred in any case. — *fide*: and in this case a special pledge had been given, which of course would make the treachery more culpable.

derentur, eos dimissuros. Cum haec de legatis nuntiata 8
essent et Mutina praesidiumque in periculo esset, L.
Manlius praetor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mu-
tinam ducit. Silvae tunc circa viam erant plerisque 9
incultis. Ibi inexplorato profectus in insidias praecipi-
tatus, multaque cum caede suorum aegre in apertos cam-
pos emersit. Ibi castra communita et, quia Gallis ad 10
temptanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi,
quamquam ad quingentos cecidisse satis constabat. Iter 11
deinde de integro coeptum, nec, dum per patentia loca
ducebatur agmen, apparuit hostis; ubi rursus silvae in- 12
tratae, tum postremos adorti cum magna trepidatione
ac pavore omnium septingentos milites occiderunt, sex
signa ademere. Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi 13
fuit Romanis, ut e saltu invio atque impedito evasere.
Inde apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tanne-
tum, vicum propinquum Pado, contendere. Ibi se muni- 14
mento ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis et Brixiano-
rum etiam Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies
multitudinem hostium tutabantur. Qui tumultus repens 26
postquam est Romam perlatus et Punicum insuper Gal-
lico bellum auctum patres acceperunt, C. Atilium prae- 2
torem cum una legione Romana et quinque milibus
sociorum dilectu novo a consule conscriptis auxilium

8. **Manlius**: see 17. 7. From which direction he came does not appear. — **effusum**: *i.e.* not in the regular order of march, but in loose detachments. — **ad**, *towards*; Manlius reached only Tannetum (13).

9. **tunc**: though in Livy's time the district was well populated.

11. **ducebatur**: the common use of the imperfect with *dum* where there is a contrast of times.

12. **occiderunt, ademere**: see 15. 5 n.

13. **Gallis, etc.**: notice the chiasmus. — **vicum**: strict syntax would require *ad*; cf. XXII. 18. 7 and see Gr. 259. *h.* — **propinquum Pado**: really about ten miles south of it.

14. **ad tempus, temporary**: see 15. 6 n. — **etiam**: because the Brixiani, being Gauls, would not be expected to aid the Romans. Their capital was the modern Brescia.

26. **tumultus**: see *tumultuatum*, 16. 4 n.

2. **consule**: Scipio.

ferre Manlio iubent; qui sine ullo certamine — absces-
serant enim metu hostes — Tannetum pervenit.

- 3 Et P. Cornelius in locum eius, quae missa cum prae-
tore erat, scripta legione nova profectus ab urbe sexa-
ginta longis navibus praeter oram Etruriae Ligurumque
4 et inde Salluvium montes pervenit Massiliam, et ad
proximum ostium Rhodani — pluribus enim divisus am-
nis in mare decurrit — castra locat, vixdum satis cre-
5 dens Hannibalem superasse Pyrenaeos montes. Quem
ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, in-
certus quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum satis refectis
ab iactatione maritima militibus, trecentos interim de-
lectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliariis
6 Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes
praemittit. Hannibal ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis
iam in Volcarum pervenerat agrum, gentis validae. Co-
lunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani; sed diffusi
citeriore agro arceri Poenum posse, ut flumen pro muni-

SCIPIO AT MARSEILLES. HANNIBAL
ON THE RHONE. FIRST MEET-
ING OF THE HOSTILE FORCES.

3. *et*: opposing the war in Trans-
alpine Gaul to the campaign against
the Boi. — *P. Cornelius*: Scipio. —
eius: see *una legioni*, 2. — *pro-*
fectus, etc.: not agreeing exactly
with 20. 9, where the consuls are
represented as setting out before
Hannibal had appeared in Gaul. —
Ligurum: depending, with *Sallu-*
vium, upon *montes*. They lived
about Genoa. — *Salluvium*: called
also *Salyes*, a Celtic Ligurian stock
on the coast between the Alps and
the Rhone. — *montes*: *i.e.* the
Alpes Maritimae. — *Massiliam*:
this city was in the lands of the
Salyes, but colonized very early by
the Greeks.

5. *quoque*: *i.e.* to say nothing
of the Pyrenees. — *occurreret*: the
indirect form of the question of
doubt '*quonam . . . occurram.*' —
iactatione maritima, sea-sickness.

6. *ceteris*: Livy thinks appar-
ently of several tribes, though there
is usually supposed to have been
only one nation, the Volcae (with
different special names), between
the Pyrenees and the Rhone. But
these tribes, like the American In-
dians, are variously conceived by
different writers. — *colunt*: used ab-
solutely (= *incolunt*) first in prose
by Livy. Notice the emphasis, 'their
regular dwelling-place is on both
sides of the Rhone, but they had
all crossed to the eastern bank.' —
citeriore . . . ulteriores: *i.e.* in re-
ference to the position of Hannibal
and the approaching danger. *Usu-*

mento haberent, omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum
 traiectis ulteriorem ripam amnis armis obtinebant. Ce- 7
 teros accolas fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum quos
 sedes suae tenuerant simul perlicit donis ad naves undi-
 que contrahendas fabricandasque, simul et ipsi traici
 exercitum levarique quam primum regionem suam tanta
 hominum urgente turba cupiebant. Itaque ingens co- 8
 acta vis navium est lintriumque temere ad vicinalem
 usum paratarum; novasque alias primum Galli inco-
 hantes cavabant ex singulis arboribus, deinde et ipsi 9
 milites simul copia materiae simul facilitate operis in-
 ducti alveos informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquae et
 capere onera possent, curantes, raptim, quibus se sua-
 que transveherent, faciebant. Iamque omnibus satis 27
 comparatis ad traiciendum terrebant ex adverso hostes
 omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes. Quos ut aver- 2
 teret, Hannonem Bomilcaris filium vigilia prima noctis
 cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso flumine

ally in Latin Rome is the point of view.

7. *eorum*: *sc. Volcarum*.—*tenu-
 erant*: *i.e.* they had been detained
 by their desire to preserve their
 homes.—*perlicit* . . . *et ipsi*: we
 should expect *cupiebant* to be in
 the emphatic place, opposed to
perlicit, but the *et ipsi* suggests the
 emphasis and allows the verb to
 give place to the (also emphatic)
 motive for the eagerness. Such
 emphasis by sample, as it were, is
 not uncommon in Latin; see Gr.
 344. c.—*urgente*: *i.e.* quartered
 upon them and stripping the land of
 provisions.

8. *navium*, *large boats*.—*lin-
 trium*, *skiffs*, properly, canoes or
 dugouts, as it would seem, for shal-
 low-river service. Polybius says
 (III. 42) *μονόξυλα πλοῖα*.—*te-*

mere: *i.e.* hastily or roughly made.
 —*vicinalem*: *i.e.* not for long voy-
 ages down the river, but merely for
 use along the shore and across the
 river.—*novas*: *i.e. lintres*, opposed
 to those which were collected.

9. *materiae*, *timber, wood for
 building*, the regular word, as *ligna*
 (37. 2) is for *fuel, wood for burn-
 ing*.—*alveos*, *mere troughs*, as it
 were.—*faciebant*: the imperfect
 gives the force, 'went to work mak-
 ing,' or the like.

27. *omnibus*: *sc. rebus*, which
 Cicero would have inserted.—*ad
 traiciendum*: the crossing was
 probably not far from Avignon.—
terrebant, etc.: translate, *they were
 alarmed by*, etc.

2. *avertaret*: *sc. Hannibal*.—*ad-
 verso flumine*, *up the river*; lit-
 erally, 'against the current'; cf.

ferre Manlio iubent; qui sine ullo periculo de-
serant enim metu hostes — Tannius cum
3 Et P. Cornelius in locum eius — ad id dati
tore erat, scripta legione nova — viginti ferme
ginta longis navibus praeter ora — adierem, ubi
4 et inde Salluvium montes per — ostendere.
proximum estium Rhodani — in quibus
nis in mare decurrit — castra — Hispani sine
5 dens Hannibalem superasse Po — castris su-
ut de Rhodani quoque transitu — Et Ilius exer-
certus quoniam ei loco occurrit — flumen posi-
ab inactione maritima militum — cessus quiete
lectos equites duobus Mass — suam opportune
Jullus ad exploranda omnia — edito fumo
6 Hannibal ceteri — cecesse. Quod ubi
um in Volcarum pervenerat — signum ad
bant autem circa utramque — habebat pedes
castrorum agere arceri Poenum

SCIPIO'S VICTORIES. HANNIBAL
IN THE MOUNTAINS. FIRST MEET-
ING OF THE HOSTILE FORCES.

3. et, opposing the war in Trans-
alpine Gaul, the campaign against
the son of Cornelius: Scipio.
4. et, and, agreeing ex-
actly as to where the consuls
were to be setting out he
had appeared in Gal-
ligium, corresponding with
the other mountains. The
5. et, and, Salluvium;
6. et, and, the Ligurian
of the base between the Al-
pians, the mountains;
7. et, and, the Mass-
8. et, and, the lan-
9. et, and, the ver-

the 'bottles' of the
the skins stripped off whole
the legs.
10. et, and, exercitus, the rest of
11. et, and, but in another way.
12. et, and, iunctis: i.e. not on a
13. et, and, but on floats made
14. et, and, logs together; cf.
15. et, and, Ann. I. 49. —
16. et, and, a kind of double mean-
17. et, and, a reference to what
18. et, and, 'and only one,' in ref-
19. et, and, the following.
20. et, and, with fumo, etc. —
21. et, and, see 12.
22. et, and, tempore deesset, not to
23. et, and, etc.
24. et, and, etc.: the awk-
25. et, and, is caused by its try-
26. et, and, two things at once, as is
27. et, and, by our author, some-
28. et, and, times had their convey-
29. et, and, and fitted out, the
30. et, and, the skins, while the

propter equos naves. Navium agmen
 in adversi impetum fluminis parte supe-
 rantis tranquillitatem infra traicientibus lin-
 gebat. Equorum pars magna nantes loris a 9
 utebantur praeter eos, quos instratos frena-
 templo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent,
 in naves. Galli occursant in ripa cum 28
 as cantuque moris sui, quatientes scuta
 morantesque dexteris tela, quamquam et 2
 utebat tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono
 amore vario nautarum militum, et qui nite-
 quere impetum fluminis et qui ex altera
 suos hortabantur. Iam satis paventes 3
 tu terribilior ab tergo adortus clamor cas-
 ue captis. Mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque
 stabat et e navibus tanta vi armatorum in
 ante et ab tergo improvisa premente acie.
 um utroque vim facere conati pellebantur, 4
 isum maxime iter, perrumpunt trepidique in

1. *adversum*, in oppo-
 (magna) had the
adversi: expressing
 of the current of
 which the vessels
 The whole means
 crossed above, the
 and gives the result of

2. *trahebantur*: Livy
 and any earlier writer
 singular of collective
 singular verb: cf. *inventus*
 7.—*praeter, all except*.
 sistant: the emphasis
 80, 'they were met
 of the Gauls on the
 shed at them,' etc.—
 of: cf. *clamore*
 moris sui: cf. Caes.
 3; VII. 80. 4.

2. *et ex adverso*: Livy begins
 as if he were going to mention the
 attack in the rear, as opposed to
 this, but he changes the form, and
 we have *iam satis*, etc. in 3.—*ter-*
rebat: a picture of the situation,
 with the imperfect as always.—
clamore: the noun precedes as
 opposed to *sono*; cf. *variis ululati-*
bus, above.—*nautarum militum*:
 without any connective, as more
 lively; besides, two clauses with *et*
 immediately follow.—*et qui*, etc.:
 the shouts were occasioned by their
 active exertions, as is usual with
 such people.

3. *adverso*, in their front, op-
 posed to *ab tergo*.

4. *utroque*, against both, liter-
 ally, 'in both directions.'—*trepidi*,
 in confusion.

vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal ceteris copiis per otium traiectis spernens iam Gallicos tumultus castra locat.

- 5 Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo, certe variata memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis inritatum ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam nantem sequeretur, traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem destitueret vadum, impetu ipso fluminis
6 in alteram ripam rapiente. Ceterum magis constat rati-
bus traiectos; id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita
7 acta re ad fidem pronius est. Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes quinquaginta latam a terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripae religatam pontis in modum humo iniecta constraverunt, ut beluae audac-
8 ter velut per solum ingrederentur; altera ratis aequae lata, longa pedes centum, ad traiciendum flumen apta,

THE ELEPHANTS CROSS THE RHONE.

5. *variata memoria, the account has been variously given.*—*ferocissimum*, etc.: cf. Frontinus, I. 7. 2 *Hannibal iussit ferocissimum elephantum sub aure vulnerari et eum qui vulnerasset transnato statim flumine procurrere. Elephantus exasperatus ad persequendum doloris sui auctorem transnavit amnem, et reliquis idem audendi fecit exemplum.*—*nantem*: the omission of a connective is somewhat harsh, and the passage has been variously tinkered (*inde nantem, nando, sequeretur nantem*, etc.), with the usual result of trying to rewrite an author like Livy.—*traxisse*: in a kind of stampede.—*ut quemque*, etc.: *i.e.* they blindly went beyond their depth, and as fast

as they did so the current carried them over. Livy evidently thought, like Polybius (III. 46) and Pliny (*N. H.* VIII. 10. 28), that elephants could not swim; cf. *pondere ipso*, etc., 12, below.—*destitueret*: the iterative subjunctive of which Livy is very fond; so *agerentur, raperentur*, 10, and *fecisset*, 11; see 8. 11 n.

6. *ceterum*, etc.: Livy thus throws doubt on this account, which of course he found in some annalist, while only the second one is preserved in Polybius (III. 46).—*ut tutius*, etc.: *i.e.* as it would seem a safer plan to adopt, if one had the work to do.

7. *secunda aqua, down the stream*; cf. *adverso flumine*, 27. 2 n.—*parte superiore ripae, higher up the bank.*

huic copulata est; tum elephantī per stabilem ratem tamquam viam praegredientibus feminis acti ubi in minorem applicatam transgressi sunt, extemplo resolutis 9 quibus leviter adnexa erat vinculis, ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur. Ita primis expositis alii deinde repetiti ac traieci sunt. Nihil sane 10 trepidabant donec continenti velut ponte agerentur; primus erat pavor cum soluta ab ceteris rate in altum raperentur; ibi urgentes inter se cedentibus extremis ab 11 aqua trepidationis aliquantum edebant donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset. Exci- 12 dere etiam saevientes quidam in flumen; sed pondere ipso stabiles deiectis rectoribus quaerendis pedetemptim vadis in terram evasere.

Dum elephantī traiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numi- 20 das equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum ubi et quantae copiae essent et quid pararent. Huic alae equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio 2 Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Proelium atrocius quam pro numero pugnantium editur; nam praeter multa vulnera caedes etiam prope par 3 utrimque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis

8. *stabilem*: *i.e.* the one made fast to the shore.

9. *ab . . . navibus*: the preposition suggests the agency of the rowers.—*pertrahitur*: of course the smaller raft, supplied from *minorem*, above.

10. *nihil sane*, not a bit. The phrase has a light, colloquial tone.—*ceteris*: neuter, *everything else*, the other raft and the shore.

11. *urgentēs*, crowding.—*quietem*, etc.: *i.e.* they were so afraid of the water that they kept still.

12. *pedetemptim*: in its literal meaning.

THE FIRST SKIRMISH WITH THE ROMANS.

29. 2. *ante*: see 26. 5.—*quam pro*: this expression after a comparative is not found before Livy, and was probably suggested by the Greek, ἡ κατὰ or ἡ πρὸ; cf. 32. 12; 59. 9.—*pugnantium*: Livy is exceptionally fond of using the present participle like a substantive or clause; cf. *ridentis*, 2. 6; *migrantium*, 30. 8; *inferentis*, 44. 3.

3. *vulnera*, wounded, as we should say.—*caedes*, the killed, or the loss.—*fugaque*, and it was

iam admodum fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum quadraginta, nec omnes Romani, sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium simul omenque belli ut summae rerum prosperum eventum ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.

5 Vt re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec
Scipioni stare sententia poterat nisi ut ex consiliis coep-
6 tisque hostis et ipse conatus caperet, et Hannibalem
incertum, utrum coeptum in Italiam intenderet iter an
cum eo, qui primus se obtulisset Romanus exercitus,
manus consereret, avertit a praesenti certamine Boio-
rum legatorum regulique Magali adventus, qui se duces

only, etc.: an effect produced by the emphasis and the connection.—*ad*, *only*, *about*.—*nec*, *and not* . . . *either*, continuing the unexpressed thought that the Roman loss was a little less.—*Gallorum*: the loss of whom was not so important; the genitive is not partitive, but defines *pars*.—*victi* . . . *ducenti*: notice that the Latin often puts the numeral in agreement where we should expect a partitive construction. Here the identical form of the genitives of *victores* and *victi* would be confusing.—*amplius ducenti*: *amplius*, *plus*, *minus*, and *longius* are often thus used parenthetically without affecting the construction.

4. *hoc*: *i.e.* the skirmish of the cavalry.—*principium simul omenque*: we should conceive this as in apposition with *hoc* (as independent neuter), but the Romans probably felt the two substantives as denoting the same thing in two aspects and as in agreement with *hoc*, thought of as an adjective pronoun.—*ut* . . . *ita*: in the usual meaning of *although* . . . *yet*.—*summae rerum*, *the main issue*,

the war as a whole.—*haud*: only with *incruentam*.—*ancipitisque*: we should say, *but dubious*; the Latin contents itself with putting the two together, and leaving the reader to set the ideas in opposition, as in *ut* . . . *ita*, above.

5. *sui*: this use of the reflexive is not unusual where mutual relationship is emphasized, and especially if the reflexive refers to the proper logical subject of discourse; cf. 43. 77; 44. 8; see Gr. 196. c.—*nec*: correlative with *et* (*Hannibalem*), below.—*stare*, *become fixed*; *i.e.* Scipio could come to no fixed conclusion.—*ex*, *in accordance with*, as *e.g.* in *ex senatus consulto*.—*et ipse*, *he too*.

6. *intenderet*: indirect form for the dubitative *intendam*.—*avertit*: translate, *is diverted*, thus keeping the emphasis. It often becomes necessary to change the voice to give the thought in its proper perspective.—*legatorum*, etc.: *Livy* has said nothing about arrangements with the Gallic leaders, which had undoubtedly been made beforehand.—*integro bello*, *i.e.* *full force*;

itinerum, socios periculi fore adfirmantes integro bello nusquam ante libatis viribus Italiam adgrediendam censent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli, sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire atque Italiam petere, advocata contione varie militum versat animos castigando adhortandoque: mirari se quinam pectora semper impavida repens terror invaserit. Per tot annos vincentes eos stipendia facere neque ante Hispania excessisse quam omnes gentesque et terrae, quas duo diversa maria amplectantur, Carthaginiensium essent. Indignatos deinde quod, quicum-

the phrase is explained by *nusquam . . . viribus*. — *libatis viribus*: as they must necessarily be by conflict with a determined enemy.

7. *multitudo*: opposed to Hannibal before spoken of. — *timebat . . . metuebat*: the slight difference between these words is here brought out better than usual; *timeo* ordinarily puts the emphasis upon the subject, and is a reproach, while *metuo* marks the object as something that may well be viewed or apprehended with anxiety. — *superioris*: alluding to the defeats of the First Punic War. — *iter . . . Alpesque*: this usage, usually called 'hendiadys,' can hardly be called a figure. The main idea is merely presented in two aspects, the latter being here further accented by the phrase *rem*, etc. — *utique, at any rate, with inexpertis*.

HANNIBAL'S ADDRESS TO HIS ARMY.

30. *ipsi*: as opposed to the army. — *stetit*: cf. 29. 5; the

change of order marks an obvious change of emphasis. — *pergere . . . petere*: the complementary infinitive as with *statuo*. — *advocata*: the order is probably determined by sound, but at the same time the word is emphatic as opposed to *versat*, the next action of the same subject. — *varie*: i.e. by reproof and encouragement.

2. *mirari*: the order representing a beginning, *miror*, etc., gives a force like, 'I can't help wondering,' or 'I should like to know,' etc. This emphasis is still further marked by *-nam* in *quinam*. — *pectora*: with a force like, 'what is the matter with your courage, that has always been so undaunted?' — *eos*: representing *vos*, which would, however, be omitted in the direct. — *facere*: the present as with *iamdudum* and the like. — *duo*, etc.: i.e. the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. — *Carthaginiensium essent*: this is very different from the tone of the address to the Spaniards in 21.

que Saguntum obsedissent, velut ob noxam sibi dedi postulare^t populus Romanus, Hiberum traiecis^se ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum, cum ab oc-
 4 casu solis ad exortus intenderent iter; nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant, Py-
 5 renaeum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus Gallorum prohi-
 6 bentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi traiectum, in conspectu Alp^{is} habeant, quarum alterum latus Italiae
 7 sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere — quid Alp^{is} aliud esse credentes quam montium altitudines?
 8 Fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis: nullas profecto terras caelum contingere nec in^{ex}superabiles humano generi esse. Alp^{is} quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere
 8 animantes: pervias faucis esse exercitibus. Eos ipsos, quos cernant, legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alp^{is} transgressos. Ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas, sed advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alp^{is} ingentibus saepe

3. *ob noxam, as culprits.* — *orbem*: as yet a rhetorical exaggeration, but used with reference to later times.

4. *tum*: when they started from Spain.

5. *prohibentibus*: concessive. — *Italiae sit, belongs to Italy, i.e.* is a part of Italy.

6. *montium altitudines, high mountains*: by this form of expression the important quality is brought out by being made abstract, and this abstract is made partially concrete by the use of the plural.

7. *fingerent*: representing an imperative, or a subjunctive of concession. — *nullas, etc.*: the rhetorical tone allows the omission of the

adversative which we should naturally supply. — *nec*: a following *nec* does not contradict a preceding negative. — *Alp^{is}*: *i.e.* 'no mountains were so high as that, and as for these particular ones, the Alps, they were quite accessible.' — *pervias*: the preceding refers to permanent inhabitants, these words refer to *passing* troops. — *fau^cis*: instead of the Mss. *paucis*.

8. *non pinnis, etc.*: *i.e.* 'they must have come on foot, and where they had come other individuals at least could go, and not only that, but whole peoples, for,' etc. — *ne . . . quidem, not . . . either*, emphasizing these as great bodies of men opposed to *legatos*. — *eorum*: *i.e.* the Gauls whose ambassadors had

agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus migrantium modo tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem armato nihil secum 9 praeter instrumenta belli portanti quid invium aut inextremabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi, quid laboris exhaustum esse! Romam, 10 caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo asperum atque arduum videri quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea quae adiri posse Poenus 11 desperet. Proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se victae aut itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.

His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare atque ad 81 iter se parare iubet. Postero die profectus adversa ripa 2 Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rectior ad Alpis via esset, sed, quantum a mari recessisset, minus obvium fore Romanum credens, cum quo, priusquam in 3

come over. — cum liberis, etc.: and therefore encumbered, in reference to militi, 9. — migrantium: cf. *pugnantium*, 29. 2 n.

9. quidem, in fact. — armato: as opposed to the encumbrances before mentioned. — exhaustum: with the figure of 'draining a cup to the dregs.'

10. caput orbis: cf. *orbem*, 3 n. — asperum: i.e. so hard a thing (like *varium et mutabile semper femina*), hence quod instead of ut following.

11. cepisse, etc.: with a tone of sarcasm, which may be represented by *forsooth* in English. This sarcastic turn prepares the way for proinde, the regular illative conjunction preceding an exhortation (as in cederent). — aut . . . aut: exclusive, i.e. these are the alternatives, 'they must do one unless they wished to do the other.' The form

is a common one in all languages. — cederent, sperent: the change of tense is abrupt, but such changes are characteristic of Livy, and throughout this speech they are more natural because the whole depends on versat (1), a historical present; see Gr. 287. e. — per eos dies, lately.

This speech, like most of the speeches in Livy, admirably illustrates his consummate skill as a rhetorician, and deserves careful study.

HANNIBAL WORKS TOWARD THE ALPS.

81. 2. adversa ripa, up stream along the bank; cf. *adverso flumine*, 27. 2. — esset: the usual subjunctive where a reason is stated only to be denied. — Romanum: cf. 26. 5.

Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conse-
 4 rere. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. Ibi Isara
 Rhodanusque amnes diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes
 agri aliquantum amplexi confluunt in unum; mediis
 5 campis Insulae nomen inditum. Incolunt prope Allo-
 broges, gens iam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut
 6 fama inferior. Tum discors erat: regni certamine am-
 bigebant fratres; maior et qui prius imperitarat, Bra-
 neus nomine, minore ab fratre et coetu iuniorum, qui
 7 iure minus, vi plus poterat, pellebatur. Huius sedi-
 tionis peropportuna disceptatio cum ad Hannibalem
 reiecta esset, abiter regni factus, quod ea senatus prin-
 cipumque sententia fuerat, imperium maiori restituit.
 8 Ob id meritum commeatu copiaque rerum omnium,
 maxime vestis, est adiutus, quam infames frigoribus
 9 Alpes praeparari cogeabant. Sedatis Hannibal certa-
 minibus Allobrogum cum iam Alpes peteret, non recta
 regione iter instituit, sed ad laevam in Tricastinos flexit;
 inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tri-

4. *quartis castris*: i.e. *quadri-
 duo*; a natural use of *castra* as a
 measure of time, as a regular camp
 was made at the end of each day's
 march; cf. *strabubs*.—*diversis*: ac-
 cording to the divisions of the Alps,
 the Rhone coming from the Great
 St. Bernard region in the Pennine
 Alps, and the Isère from the south-
 ern side of Mt. Blanc among the
 Graian Alps.—*Insulae*: the mod-
 ern department of Isère.

5. *prope*: i.e. north of the Isère.
 —*iam inde*: Livy probably has in
 mind the troubles of Rome with
 the Allobroges, and their conquest
 in 121 B.C.

6. *pellebatur*: the contest was
 still going on.

7. *ea*: i.e. that the power be-

longed of right to the elder. It
 agrees with *sententia* according to
 the regular Latin idiom.

9. *recta*, etc.: the straight line
 towards the mountains.—*ad lae-
 vam*: though Hannibal's exact
 route has never been determined,
 yet it seems certain that he fol-
 lowed up the Isère, a course which
 would be *ad laevam* as opposed to
 the direct route from where he was
 (about Valence) to the Alps.—*Tri-
 castinos*: the locality of this tribe is
 indicated by Aoust (*Augusta Tricas-
 tinorum*).—*extremam*: i.e. north-
 ern.—*Vocontiorum*: the territory
 of this powerful people reached from
 the Drac to the Durance, one of
 their chief settlements being at Die
 (*Dea Vocontiorum*).—*Tricorios*:

corios, haud usquam impedita via priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis 10 longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus transitu est. Nam cum aquae vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque isdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada 11 novosque gurgites (et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta via est), ad hoc saxa glareosa volvens nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti praebet. Et tum forte imbribus 12 auctus ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, cum super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

P. Cornelius consul triduo fere post quam Hannibal a 82 ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra hostium venerat, nullam dimicandi moram factururus. Ceterum 2 ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum praegressos

their territory was east of the Drac, about Gap (*Vapincum*). — *Druentiam*, etc.: Livy seems to conceive the route as up the Isère, then across the bend in that river to the Drac, southerly along that river by Gap to the Durance at Embrun (*Ébrodunum*).

10. *et ipse*: as well as the Rhone and the Isère, 4. — *difficillimus*: agreeing in gender with *amnis* instead of *fluminum*.

11. *gurgites*, the pools, such as are always made by mountain torrents, alternating with shoals (*vada*), as every trout or salmon fisherman knows; by a kind of zeugma the accusatives depend upon *volvens*; cf. Amm. Marc. XV. 10. 11 *Druentia flumen gurgitibus vagis intutum*. — *glareosa*: i.e. the bottom is of loose rolling stones, instead of sand or pebbles, which would pack so as to make a firm footing.

12. *et tum*: i.e. besides the or-

dinary difficulties, it had the temporary disadvantage of a freshet, which, adding to the embarrassment, caused a kind of panic, reflected in *incertis clamoribus*. — *incertis*: i.e. the sudden outcries of those in the front or in the rear at some unexpected accident, the cause of which could not be at once determined, increased the disorder.

SCIPIO RETURNS TO ITALY.

82. *movit*: often used absolutely by Livy of military movements; so *educō*, 39. 10; *teneo*, 49. 2; *duco*, XXII. 18. 6. — *facturus*: see *futuro*, 4. 10 n. Scipio's intention was to meet Hannibal before he crossed the Alps — a piece of strategy which Hannibal baffled by hastening his march (cf. 29. 6).

2. *deserta* . . . *adsecuturum*: the free use of participles in Latin

- adsecuturum videt, ad mare ac naves rediit, tutius faciliusque ita descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus.
- 3 Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam provinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit,
- 4 non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres socios conciliandosque novos sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania Hasdrubalem. Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit, eo qui circa Padum erat exercitus Italiam defendensurus.
- 6 Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpis cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum pervenit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua incerta in maius vero ferri solent, praecepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque caelo prope immixtae, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora iumentaque torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu
- 8 quam dictu foediora, terrorem renovarunt. Erigentibus in primos agmen clivos apparuerunt imminentes tumu-

makes the two objects of *videt* seem precisely parallel.

3. *tamen*: opposed to the idea implied in the preceding of withdrawing his forces from Gaul.—*sortitus erat*: see 17. 1.

5. *eo*: as opposed to the army which he left behind him; cf. 39. 3.

HANNIBAL REACHES THE ALPS.
HIS ENCOUNTER WITH THE
MOUNTAINEERS.

6. *campestri*, etc.: as there appears to be no region on the upper Durance corresponding to this description, it is likely that Livy has no clear idea of the route or of the nature of the country. He may,

however, have had in his mind the broad valley near Gap. There seems no reason why Hannibal should have gone beyond the Durance.

7. *fama*, etc.: cf. 29. 7.—*in maius*: Livy and the later writers often use *in* with the accusative to express result or purpose; cf. 12, *in speciem*.—*vero*: ablative after *maius*.—*ex propinquo visa*, etc., *a near view of the mountain heights*; cf. 1. 5 n. and 30. 6 n. Without thinking of any particular place for this first view, we may attribute the description to Livy's imagination of the general terrors of the Alps.

8. *erigentibus . . . agmen*, *as they directed their march*; the dative goes with *apparuerunt*.

los insidentes montani, qui, si valles occultiores in-
 discent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam
 stragemque dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa ius- 9
 sit; Gallisque ad visenda loca praemissis postquam com-
 perit transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa
 omnia praeuptaque quam extentissima potest valle
 locat. Tum per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multum lin- 10
 gua moribusque abhorrentes, cum se immiscuissent con-
 loquiis montanorum, edoctus interdiu tantum obsideri
 saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima
 subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdiu vim per an-
 gustias facturus. Die deinde simulando aliud quam 11
 quod parabatur consumpto cum eodem quo constite-
 rant loco castra communissent, ubi primum digressos 12
 tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus
 ignibus quam pro numero manentium in speciem factis
 impedimentisque cum equite relictis et maxima parte
 peditum, ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque viro, rap- 13
 tim angustias evadit iisque ipsis tumulis quos hostes
 tenuerant consedit.

Prima deinde luce castra mota et agmen reliquum in- 33
 cedere coepit. Iam montani signo dato ex castellis ad 2
 stationem solitam conveniebant, cum repente conspiciunt
 alios arce occupata sua super caput imminentis, alios
 via transire hostis. Vtraque simul obiecta res oculis 3
 animisque immobiles parumper eos defixit; deinde, ut
 trepidationem in angustis suoque ipsum tumultu mis-
 ceri agmen videre, equis maxime consternatis, quidquid 4

9. transitum ea non esse: *i.e.* on account of the opposition of the Gauls. — omnia, *nothing but*.

10. haud sane, etc.: giving a force like, 'pretty nearly alike,' etc. — ex aperto, *openly*, like *ex consullo*, *ex adverso*, and the like.

12. laxatas: implying that they left sentinels, but not an army in force, as in the daytime. — manentium: cf. *pugnantium*, 29. 2 n.

33. 2. arce . . . sua, *their strong position*, *i.e.* the heights.

4. quidquid . . . terroris, *any*

- adiecissent ipsi terroris, satis ad perniciem fore rati, diversis rupibus iuxta in vias ac devia adsueti decurrunt.
- 5 Tum vero simul ab hostibus simul ab iniquitate locorum Poeni oppugnabantur, plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente ut periculo prius evaderet, quam cum hostibus certaminis erat. Equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam percussaeque valles augebant, territi trepidabant et icti forte aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur ut stragem ingentem simul hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis
- 7 facerent; multosque turba, cum praecipites deruptaeque utrimque angustiae essent, in immensum altitudinis deiecit, quosdam et armatos; sed ruinae maxime modo iumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quae quamquam foeda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepidationem augeret;
- 9 deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculumque esse, ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequiquam incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco et, cum impetu ipso fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum
- 10 auxit. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, postquam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur, nec

alarm, however little. — *iuxta*, etc.: trail or no trail, it was all the same to the experienced mountaineers in their swift descents. — *in vias*: instead of the MSS. *intra*, which can hardly be justified grammatically, nor do *intra* and *devius* differ as *ac* would imply.

5. *ab iniquitate*: as if the difficulty of the ground were another enemy fighting them. — *inter ipsos*, with each other. — *prius*: i.e. sooner than his neighbor.

6. *trepidabant*, became unmanageable, rushing hither and thither instead of keeping in line.

7. *in immensum altitudinis*: instead of the idiomatic attributive adjective, Livy often uses a neuter adjective partitively with a noun; cf. 31. 2; 34. 7, 8; XXII. 20. 10; 45. 1. — *armatos*: i.e. even some who were not in the throng of frightened beasts of burden, but in the more disciplined ranks.

9. *exutum*: i.e. *si exutus esset*. — *suis quoque*, etc.: as he had feared, but he was obliged to do so lest the whole baggage train should be lost and so their expedition be useless.

10. *momento temporis*: cf. 14. 3 n.

per otium modo sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti. Castellum inde, quod caput eius regionis erat, viculos- 11 que circumiectos capit, et captivo cibo ac pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit; et quia nec a montanis primo percussis nec loco magno opere impediabantur, aliquantum eo triduo viae confecit.

Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut 84 inter montanos, populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed suis artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope circumventus. Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum 2 veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes amicitiam malle quam vim experiri Poenorum; itaque 3 oboedienter imperata facturos; commeatum itinerisque duces et ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet. Han- 4 nibal nec temere credendum nec aspernandos ratus, ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne cum respon- disset obsidibus quos dabant, acceptis et commeatu quem in viam ipsi detulerant usus, nequaquam, ut inter pacatos composito agmine duces eorum sequitur. Pri- 5 mum agmen elephanti et equites erant; ipse post cum robore peditem circumspectans sollicitusque omnia incedebat. Vbi in angustiore viam et parte altera sub- 6 iectam iugo insuper imminenti ventum est, undique ex

11. *castellum*: it is uncertain what place Livy had in his mind.

84. *ut*: qualifying *frequentem cultoribus*. — *populum*, *district*; cf. the local use of *δῆμος*. These places cannot be identified. Perhaps Livy is thinking of the Caturiges. — *suis*: alluding to the proverbial *Punica fides*; cf. XXII. 16. 5.

2. *magno natu*: emphatic position, as aged envoys would naturally make a greater impression.

3. *facturos*: the construction of *memorantes* ends with *Poenorum*, including only the preamble as it were, while the real statement is added in regular indirect discourse depending on the idea in *oratores* . . . *veniunt*. — *acciperet*: for imperative of the direct.

4. *dabant*, *offered*; conative imperfect. — *nequaquam ut*, *not at all as if*.

5. *omnia*: cf. *cetera*, 8. 10 n.

6. *angustiore*, etc.: again an uncertain spot. Livy picks out or invents details such as might be true in any Alpine locality. —

- insidiis barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti comminus eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat. In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est. Nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus praesidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo auxilii reliqui erat, occursantes per obliqua montani interrupto medio agmine viam insedere, noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est.
- 85 Postero die iam segnius intercursantibus barbaris iunctae copiae, saltusque haud sine clade, maiore tamen iumentorum quam hominum perniciem, superatus. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant modo in primum modo in novissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunitatem daret aut progressi morative aliquam occasionem fecissent.
- 3 Elephanti sicut per artas praecipitesque vias magna

a fonte ab tergo, comminus eminus: the double asyndeton is in harmony with the scene of hurry and confusion.

7. versa . . . acies . . . fecit: an extreme case of a double statement compressed into one in the regular Latin manner; 'The soldiers wheeled to resist the attack and (by the difficulty they had in resisting) showed plainly,' etc. — fuerit: without quin it would be *fuit*, the ordinary use of the indicative with words of necessity, etc., in the contrary-to-fact construction.

8. tunc quoque, *even as it was*. — agmen: *i.e.* the infantry, but in the word means the whole army.

9. per obliqua: the enemy, be-

ing on their flank, ran down and forward into the break in the line between the cavalry and the infantry. — Hannibali: 'dative of the agent'; this construction was in Livy's time coming more and more into Latin, probably under Greek influence, and a natural blending of the person especially interested with the chief actor; cf. 39. 1; XXII. 34. 8.

85. 2. latrocinii: a regular word for desultory, predatory excursions, or guerilla warfare, as opposed to a real war. — daret: the usual subjunctive of repeated action. — progressi morative, *advance parties or stragglers*.

3. sicut . . . ita, *although . . . yet*,

mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praebebant.

Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per invia 4 pleraque et errores quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi fides iis non esset, temere initae valles a coniectantibus iter faciebant. Biduum in iugo stativa habita, fessisque 5 labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iumenta quoque aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra pervenere. Fessis taedio tot malorum 6 nivis etiam casus occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum ingentem terrorem adiecit. Per omnia nive oppleta cum 7 signis prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet pigritiaeque et desperatio in omnium vultu emineret, praegressus 8 signa Hannibal in promunturio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus Italiam ostentat subiectosque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos, moeniaque eos tum transcendere non 9 Italiae modo sed etiam urbis Romanae; cetera plana,

HANNIBAL AT THE SUMMIT OF THE PASS.

4. *nono die*: from the position in 32. 6 ff. This agrees with Polybius (III. 53) who, however, probably has in mind a different route. — *iugum*: apparently the summit of Mount Genève, the route which Livy seems to have had in mind; whether it was the real one or not is another matter. — *per invia*, etc.: this has the air of being drawn from Livy's imagination, as there must have been perfectly well-known roads and the army had guides.

5. *biduum*: so also Polybius. — *stativa*: as opposed to the regular night encampment.

6. *occidente*, etc.: the morning setting of the Pleiades, *i.e.* when

they appear in the west just before sunrise, occurred October 26, and marked the beginning of winter (Pliny, *N. H.* II. 125). The time is inserted to explain *nivis*.

8. *praegressus*, etc.: this story, but with less detail, is also told by Polybius (III. 54). It is agreed, however, that no such point of view can be found on any of the passes over which Hannibal is likely to have gone. He may have been able to show his soldiers enough for his purpose without having so clear a view as Livy represents. — *longe ac late*: an alliteration found in many writers, usually written *longe lateque*. — *Italiam . . . moeniaque*, etc.: cf. 32. 2 for a similar combination of constructions.

9. *cetera*: referring apparently

proclivia fore ; uno aut summum altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu ac potestate habituros.

- 10 Procedere inde agmen coepit, iam nihil ne hostibus
quidem praeter parva furtiva per occasionem temptanti-
11 bus. Ceterum iter multo quam in ascensu fuerat, ut
pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita adrectiora
12 sunt, difficilior fuit. Omnis enim ferme via praeceps,
angusta, lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se a lapsu pos-
sent nec qui paulum titubassent haerere adfixi vestigio
suo, alique super alios et iumenta in homines occide-
rent.

- 36 Ventum deinde ad multo angustiores rupes atque
ita rectis saxis ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus
manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes
2 demittere sese posset. Natura locus iam ante praeceps

both to the nature of the ground
and the difficulties of the war.—
summum, at most.

THE DESCENT.

10. *ne . . . quidem*: opposing
the hindrance of the enemy to the
morale of the soldiers as regards the
difficulties of the way, implied in
procedere . . . coepit; 'they were
no longer daunted by the journey,
nor did the enemy trouble them
either.'—*furtiva*, *stealthy attacks*.

11. *ceterum iter*, etc.: the real
difficulties of the way are opposed
to the *morale* of the soldiers and
the opposition of the enemy just
contrasted.

12. *neque sustinere se*, etc.:
referring back to *lubrica*.—*nec
qui paulum*, etc.: referring to the
whole, but, in a confused kind of
chiasmus, particularly to *praeceps*;
'if they once staggered a little it
was all over with them; they went
down on the steep incline and (from

its slipperiness as well as its steep-
ness) couldn't stop where they fell,
but slid or rolled down, one upon
another, men and horses all in a
confused heap.' The feeling of an-
tithesis is so strong that Livy starts a
chiasmic opposition with *sustinere*,
etc., but does not make it complete
and clear.

36. *rupem*: the whole as a
mass; *saxis*: the parts as they
were clambered over by the sol-
diers. The narrow way is repre-
sented as having a very steep slope
in the direction of its length.—*ex-
peditus*: *i.e.* with his limbs unen-
cumbered by arms or baggage.—
temptabundus: *i.e.* feeling his
way, crawling along, not walking.
Livy has a fondness for adjectives
in *-bundus*; cf. 53. 6; XXII. 18. 6.
—*virgulta*, *small shrubs*.—*stirpes*,
roots and trunks (of larger vegeta-
tion).

2. *natura*, etc.: Livy seems to
represent the road as running along
the side of a mountain, and the

recenti lapsu terrae in pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus erat. Ibi cum velut ad finem viae equites 3 constitissent, miranti Hannibali quae res moraretur agmen, nuntiatur rupem inviam esse. Digressus deinde 4 ipse ad locum visendum. Haud dubia res visa quin per invia circa nec trita antea quamvis longo ambitu circumduceret agmen. Ea vero via insuperabilis fuit. 5 Nam cum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicae altitudinis esset, molli nec praealtae facile pedes ingredientium insistebant; ut vero tot hominum iumento- 6 rumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis ingrediebantur. Taetra ibi luctatio erat lubrica glacie non recipiente 7 vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut, seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adiuvisent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesve ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset erant; ita in levi tantum glacie tabidaque nive voluntabantur. Iumenta secabant interdum etiam infimam 8 ingredientia nivem et prolapsa iactandis gravius in conitendo unguis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque

ledge of the road itself carried away at this point by a slide. — *admodum, full.* — *altitudinem*: apparently a mistake of Livy or his transcriber for *latitudinem*, for it is hard to see how the depth could have made any difference, whereas Polybius represents it as a length of about the same extent. Were it not for *praeceps* one would be tempted to emend in that sense.

4. *digressus*: *i.e.* he went forward from where he was. — *haud dubia, etc.*: *res* is inserted, instead of *haud dubium* alone, to give an idea like, 'the thing showed on the face of it,' etc. — *quamvis, how-*

ever: *i.e.* however far they had to go they must go around.

6. *per nudam, etc.*: *i.e.* when the new snow was melted they had to walk on ice covered with slush, and steep besides, — a situation that would naturally produce the results depicted. — *infra*: used like the more formal adjective or relative clause; cf. 8. 5 n.

7. *adminiculis*: the hands or the knees just mentioned. — *tantum, nothing but.*

8. *iumenta, etc.*: *i.e.* the heavier beasts of burden broke through the crust of ice, and were caught in the old hardened snow. — *ingredientia*: *i.e.* by walking on it.

velut pedica capta haerent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

- 87 Tandem nequiquam iumentis atque hominibus fatigatis castra in iugo posita, aegerrime ad id ipsum loco purgato: tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit.
- 2 Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa immanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt eamque, cum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt ardentiaque
- 3 saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos ut non iumenta solum sed elephantum etiam deduci
- 4 possent. Quadriduum circa rupem consumptum iumentis prope fame absumptis; nuda enim fere cacumina
- 5 sunt et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives. Inferiora

THE USE OF FIRE AND VINEGAR.

87. *tantum*: as often in Livy, the cause is added in a demonstrative form; 'they had great difficulty, [because] there was so much snow,' etc.

2. *muniendam*: i.e. *viam muniendam per*, like 'sailing the sea,' 'running the rapids.' Probably *munire* meant, originally 'work in shares,' as country roads are made, and was applicable either to fortifications, whence *moenia*; or roads, whence *munire viam*; cf. *communis*, *immunis*, and *munus*. — *arboribus*, etc.: if this is all true, the path must have led along the edge of a glacier from which they had now come out upon the mountain, as Livy has just said, 36. 7, *nec stirpes*, etc. — *aceto*, etc.: this statement has naturally been questioned. Polybius is silent on the subject, and complains (III. 47, 48) that many

falsehoods were current in regard to the passage; Silius Italicus (III. 642) merely says *excoquitur flammis scopulus*; where did Hannibal get the vinegar, and could any quantity have produced the effects here stated? But the ancients (e.g. Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIII. 71 *silices igne et aceto rumpunt*) speak of the explosive power of vinegar upon heated rock, and as vinegar-water (*posca*) seems to have been a common drink for soldiers (Spartianus, *Hadr.* 10), it may have been in Hannibal's commissariat. Ammianus Marcellinus (XV. 10. 11) agrees with Livy, but locates the scene at the beginning of the ascent. Juvenal (10. 153 *montem rumpit aceto*) and Servius (*Aen.* X. 13 *quas (Alpes) ante exustas aceto infuso rupit*) echo the popular tradition.

3. *anfractibus*, *sigras*.

5. *inferiora*, etc.: indicating that they had now descended.

valles apricosque quosdam colles habent rivosque prope silvas et iam humano cultu digniora loca. Ibi iumenta 6 in pabulum missa et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data. Triduo inde ad planum descensum iam et locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

Hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum est, quinto 88 mense a Carthagine Nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. Quantae copiae 2 transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum milia peditum, viginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui minimum, viginti milia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius Alimen- 3 tus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor moveret nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis: cum his octoginta milia peditum, decem equi- 4 tum adducta — in Italia magis adfluxisse veri simile est, et ita quidam auctores sunt —; ex ipso autem audisse 5 Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex milia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum iumentorum amisisse. Taurini Galli proxima gens erat in Italiam degresso. Id cum inter omnes constet 6 eo magis miror ambigi quam Alps transierit, et vulgo

6. iam, gradually.

DISCUSSION AS TO HANNIBAL'S FORCES AND ROUTE.

88. maxime, in the main. — quidam: e.g. Polybius, III. 56. — quinto decimo: this does not agree with Livy's own account (35. 4, 5, 7 and 37. 1, 4, 6), which seems to require nineteen days.

2. quantae, etc.: Polybius gives the account as recorded by Hannibal himself on a monument set up on the Lacinian promontory, as 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse; but

this is inconsistent with what, according to Livy, Cincius had heard from Hannibal's own lips.

3. L. Cincius: see Introd. 10. — maxime, etc., would have the greatest weight.

4. cum his, etc., including these, etc. — adducta: the infinitive, like audisse after the parenthesis, depends upon something like auctor est, implied in auctor moveret, 3.

5. Taurini: their name is preserved in Turin, and their country reached from that city to the Alps.

6. eo magis miror, etc.: i.e. since all agree that he came first among the

credere Poenino — atque inde nomen ei iugo Alpium
 7 inditum — transgressum, Coelum per Cremonis iugum
 dicere transisse; qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos
 sed per Salassos Montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxis-
 8 sent. Nec veri simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse
 itinera; utique, quae ad Poeninum ferunt, obsepta
 9 gentibus Semigermanis fuissent. Neque hercule monti-
 bus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorum
 ullo Seduni Veragri, incolae iugi eius, nomen norint in-
 ditum, sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice
 Poeninum montani appellant.

89 Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximae
 genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed ar-

Taurini, there would seem to be no doubt that he came by some pass in that region. But all do not agree on that point, as Polybius *e.g.* makes him come first to the Insubres. — **Poenino**: *sc. monte*; the chain from the Great St. Bernard to St. Gotthard. — **inde**: *i.e.* from the passage of Hannibal.

7. **Coelum**: Introd. 10. — **Cremonis**: perhaps the Little St. Bernard; the name occurs only here. — **Salassos Montanos**: on the east side of the Graian Alps north of Turin on the Doria Baltea. — **ad Libuos**: farther east than the country of the Taurini. The whole question is incapable of solution. Varro's statement, as transmitted to us by Servius (*Aen.* X. 13), is of some interest: *Alpes quinque viis Varro dicit transiri posse; una, quae est iuxta mare per Ligures; altera, qua Hannibal transit; tertia, qua Pompeius ad Hispaniense bellum profectus est; quarta, qua Hasdrubal de Gallia in Italiam venit; quinta, quae quondam a Graecis possessa est, quae exinde Alpes Graiae appellantur.*

8. **ea**: the two routes just mentioned, *i.e.* the Great and, perhaps, the Little St. Bernard. — **Semigermanis**: cf. *Caes. B. G.* I. 31 *seq.*

9. **id**: *i.e.* the name *Poeninus*. — **Seduni Veragri**: between Lake Lemane and the Great St. Bernard; cf. *Caes. B. G.* III. 1. — **norint**: there is irony in this 'subjunctive of modesty'; cf. *censeam*, 18. 6 n. — **eo**, the divinity, usually called *Suppiter Poeninus*, from the Celtic *Penn*. Many votive inscriptions to this local divinity have been found on the pass.

FIRST OPERATIONS IN ITALY.

89. **peropportune**, etc., *it was a most fortunate thing for the beginning of operations that*, etc.; notice the emphasis. — **Taurinis**: for the dative see *Hannibili*, 34. 9 n. — **proximae genti**: a pointless repetition of 38. 5, unless Livy means that the Taurini were the nearest people to the Insubres in that (*i.e.* the south-westerly) direction. — **armare**, *prepare for war*; a rare, perhaps poet-

mare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime sentientem contracta ante mala, non poterat: otium enim ex labore, copia ex inopia, 2 cultus ex inluevie tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat. Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, 3 cum Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in novis ignominiis trepido ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus consereret. Sed cum Placentiam consul venit, iam ex stativis 4 moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volentes in amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnarat; iunxissetque sibi non metu solum sed etiam 5 voluntate Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantis defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos, quae pars se 6 quenda esset, Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus. Iam prope in conspectu erant exercitus convenerantque 7 duces sicuti inter se nondum satis noti, ita iam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam Hannibalis 8

ical, meaning. — *alteri*, one of the two, i.e. either. This may refer to the Insubres (see 25. 2), but apparently Livy does not recognize established relations between Hannibal and any nation of the Gauls, which must, however, have existed. — *reficiendo*: used absolutely without *se*; cf. *agitando*, 58. 10, and *sepeliendi*, XXII. 52. 6.

2. *ex*, after, as often where one thing immediately succeeds another. — *efferata*, like wild beasts; a strong expression for 'like savages.' — *movebat*, affected.

3. *ea*: attracted to agree with *causa*, as in the standard example *hoc opus, hic labor est*. — *navibus*, by sea; cf. 32. 2. — *Manlio*: see 17. 7; 25. 8. — *Atilio*: see 26. 2.

— *tirone*: cf. 26. 2. — *ignominiis*: see 25. 9, 12.

4. *venit*: indicative, as simply defining a point of time. — *stativis*, camp; so called because it was not a mere encampment for a night, but a place of rest for some days; cf. 35. 5. — *urbem*: probably the modern Turin.

5. *accolas Padi*, who live along the Po.

6. *et Hannibal*: i.e. Hannibal also took the offensive, as well as Scipio, and for the same reason, viz. to secure the wavering Gauls. — *quae*: for *utra*. — *praesentem*, the first comer, whether himself or Scipio.

7. *sicuti . . . ita*, although . . . yet, as often; see 7. 6 n.

et apud Romanos iam ante Sagunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso, quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset, praestantem virum credebat; et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, quod relictus in Gallia obvius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal et conatu tam audaci traciendarum Alpium et effectu.

- 10 Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum traicere, et ad Ticinum amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus :
 40 ' Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem quem in
 2 Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem loqui apud vos ; quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent, aut eas legiones cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secu-

8. *et, even, i.e.* as well as among the Carthaginians and Spaniards. — *Scipionem, etc.* : this explanation shows that Livy invents this early fame of Scipio from patriotic motives. Hannibal must have known that the provinces were assigned by lot, and could only judge of Scipio's eminence in a general way from the fact that he had been elected a commander.

9. *auxerant, etc., they had added to the high opinion which each had of the other.*

SCIPIO'S ADDRESS TO HIS SOLDIERS.

10. *occupavit, was the first ; cf. occupant bellum facere, I. 14. 4 ; II. 48. 2. — tamen : i.e.* in spite of Hannibal's celerity (4) and his reputation as a general (8).

40. *si eum, etc.* : the writing of history with the ancients was a branch of rhetoric, and all historians delighted in composing speeches suited to the occasion. The sub-

stance of this one is given in Polybius (III. 64), but it is worked over by Livy. — *apud vos* : there is here the peculiar Latin 'telescoping' of two different forms of thought; 'If I had that army, I should have refrained from addressing *it*, but with *you* it is necessary.'

2. *referret : i.e.* in the case (contrary to fact) supposed. — *viciissent* : see 29. 3. The difference of mood in this clause and in *quem . . . habui*, just above, and *cum quibus . . . habui*, just below, is instructive ; this clause is conditioned on the main protasis, 'If I had that army,' and hence is in the subjunctive pluperfect, while the other clauses are not so conditioned, and are therefore expressed in the indicative. The whole matter of attraction or 'essential part,' so called, depends on the relation which the clauses bear to the main idea. In other words, formal grammar is only logical sense put into language. — *legiones* : as Hannibal had avoided

tus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro victoria habui? nunc, quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae provinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populusque Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Poenos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites pauca verba facienda sunt. Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum quos terrarumque priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta belli praemia Siciliam ac Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is vobis illisque animus qui victoribus et victis esse solet. Nec nunc illi, quia audent, sed quia necesse est, pugnaturi sunt; nisi creditis, qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detractare, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis [qui plures paene perierint quam super-

contact with the Romans except in cavalry reconnaissance (cf. 31. 3), the foot-soldiers had not engaged.

3. *nunc*: introducing, like the corresponding words in many other languages, the actual state of the case. — *Cn. Scipione*: 32. 3. — *meis auspiciis*: only the commander-in-chief had the right, as representing the Roman people, of taking the auspices, *i.e.* of consulting the gods as to the conduct of the war; his subordinates commanded only so far as concerned human relations.

4. *consulem*: a supreme commander as opposed to subordinates. — *voluntario*: because his proper province was the war in Spain (32. 3), and hence the defense of Italy was not his affair.

5. *ne . . . ignoretis*: as often, the purpose of *saying* what is said, not the purpose of the thing itself.

— *viginti*: in the first negotiations between Lutatius and Hamilcar Carthage was to pay a war indemnity for twenty years, but this period was reduced to ten years (Polyb. I. 62; III. 27). — *capta . . . habetis*, *have taken . . . and hold*; see 13. 6 n. — *belli praemia*: carelessly said of Sardinia; see *Introd.* 5.

6. *nec nunc*: as opposed to the time during which the Carthaginians had acknowledged defeat by keeping quiet.

7. *nisi creditis*: a common form of *reductio ad absurdum*. — *detractare*: *i.e.* by abandoning the contest on the Rhone and proceeding to cross the Alps. — *duabus partibus*: the two-thirds is a rhetorical exaggeration. — *qui . . . supersint*: these words only contradict what has just been said, *duabis . . . amissis*: one clause is probably a clumsy gloss on the other,

8 sint] plus spei nactos esse. At enim pauci quidem
 sunt, sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora
 9 ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit. Effigies immo,
 umbrae hominum, fame frigore inlue squalore enecti,
 contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc praeusti
 artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torrida gelu, quassata
 10 fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi: cum hoc equite,
 cum hoc pedite pugnaturi estis; reliquias extremas hostis,
 non hostem habetis; ac nihil magis vereor quam ne, cum
 vos pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem videantur.
 11 Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum foederum ruptore duce ac
 populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac
 profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus,
 41 commissum ac profligatum conficere. Non vereor ne
 quis me haec vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui
 2 existimet, ipsum aliter animo adfectum esse. Licuit in
 Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam profectus eram,
 cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii participem

8. at enim, *but, you say*, regularly introducing a consideration to be overthrown. — *pauci*, only a few, in its usual meaning. — *robora ac vires*, strength of resistance and strength for attack; cf. I. 2 n.

9. *effigies*, mere forms; an expression for which, as indicating at least some substance, *umbrae*, outlines, is substituted to represent more strongly the emaciated condition of Hannibal's troops. — *praeusti artus*, with hands and feet frozen, literally, 'at the extremities,' like *praeacutus*, *prætrunco*, and other compounds of *prae*. — *torrida*: this must refer to the inflammation caused by exposure; *torpida*, a suggestion of Lipsius, has been adopted by some editors. — *quassata*, rickety, as opposed to actual fracture, expressed by *fracta*.

10. cum hoc, *this is . . . with which*. — *vos*: emphatically opposed to *Alpes*.

11. *ita*, etc., perhaps it was better so; namely, that nature should overcome them first, inasmuch as they had offended the gods, and only the finishing of the war be left to the Romans, who were the next aggrieved parties. — *forsitan*: without influence on the mood, as in poetry and later prose. — *profligatum*: an almost technical term for 'breaking the back' of a war, opposed both to *commissum* on the one hand, and *conficere* on the other.

41. 2. *licuit*, etc.: the confirmation of Scipio's sincerity, in that his actions show his confidence, for he might have avoided this contest. Hence the emphasis on *licuit*, I

ac periculi socium haberem et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem et minorem haud dubie molem belli; tamen, cum praeterveherer navibus Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus praemisso equitatu ad Rhodanum movi castra. Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum conserendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi; peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium rap- tim agebatur, quia adsequi terra non poteram, regressus ad navis quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris terrarumque circuitu in radicibus prope Alpium huic timendo hosti obviui fui. Vtrum, cum declinare certamen, im- providus incidisse videor, an occurrere in vestigiis eius, lacescere ac trahere ad decernendum? Experiri iuvat utrum alios repente Carthaginenses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an iidem sint qui ad Aegatis pugnaverunt insulas et quos ab Eryce duodevicens denariis aestimatos emisistis, et utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum

MIGHT have.—haberem: i.e. in the case supposed; 'if I had gone I should now have,' etc.—minorem . . . molem belli, a less difficult war. The Latin loves to make such words as bellum concrete, to express the preparations or armament and the like; hence the use of molem; cf. tanti belli impetus navigavit, Cic. pro Lege Manil. 12. 34.

3. tamen: opposed to the statement that he might have gone to Spain, etc.—praeterveherer: the emphasis expresses the idea that he was merely accidentally passing by, and went out of his way to meet the enemy.

4. equestri: see 29. 2.—fugientium: cf. 40. 2.—regressus, etc.: if we read with the oldest Mss. neque regressus ad navis erat, we must assume the loss of a protasis like si secutus essem, and make regressus a noun.—tanto

(independent of quanta): so great as you see or know it to be.—timendo: ironical.

5. utrum, etc., is it that, etc., since 'whether' in direct questions is obsolete in English.—declinare, etc.: a circumstance that might make it seem as if now he had unexpectedly fallen on the enemy, since he avoided them before.—occurrere in vestigiis eius, confront him in his path; a very forcible expression, probably suggested by vestigiis sequi and the like.

6. iuvat, I would like to.—ad Aegatis: in the final contest of the First Punic War; see Introd. 4.—duodevicens denariis, etc.: this ransom is not elsewhere mentioned, but may well have been a formal recognition that the Carthaginians were prisoners. The amount is a small one, at that time not far from three dollars apiece.

Herculis, ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et
 8 servus populi Romani a patre relictus. Quem nisi Sa-
 guntinum scelus agitare, respiceret profecto, si non
 patriam victam, domum certe patremque et foedera
 9 Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui iussus ab consule nostro
 praesidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui graves impositas victis
 Carthaginensibus leges fremens maerensque accepit, qui
 decedens Sicilia stipendium populo Romano dare pactus
 10 est. Itaque vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo, quo
 adversus alios hostes soletis, pugnare velim, sed cum
 indignatione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis
 11 vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad
 Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum, fame, in-
 terficere; licuit victricem classem in Africam traicere
 atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthaginem
 12 delere: veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsi-
 dione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae
 13 duximus cum Africo bello urgerentur. Pro his imper-
 titis furiosum iuvenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam

7. *Herculis*: cf. *Alpes nulladum via, nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet, superatās*, V. 34. 6. — *vectigalis*: as paying tithes and the like. — *stipendiarius*: as paying an indemnity. The whole is exaggerated, as the Carthaginians only paid a certain sum for ten years, a limit which was reached before Hamilcar's death in 228 B.C.

8. *nisi*, etc.: *i.e.* unless Hannibal were driven mad by the consciousness of his crime at Saguntum. The pursuit of the wicked by the Furies or otherwise is regularly expressed by *agitare*. — *respiceret*, *have regard for*. — *domum*, *the honor of his house*; the breaking of Hamilcar's pledges by his son would dishonor the family.

9. *iussus*, etc.: to increase the

humiliation. — *consule*: Lutatius Catulus. — *leges*, *conditions*.

10. *ego*: only expressed from the fondness for opposing persons. — *animo*, *spirit*, as warriors. — *velim*, *I would have*. — *indignatione*: an additional feeling beside the ordinary courage and desire to win.

11. *licuit*: cf. 2 n. — *humanorum* (*sc. suppliciorum*), *that man can suffer*.

12. *veniam*, etc.: *i.e.* 'we might have (*licuit*) done all that, but instead we granted indulgence,' etc. — *tutelae*, etc.: an exaggeration of some permission, contrary to the treaty of 241 B.C., to get material of war in Italy (Polybius, III. 27; I. 83; Nepos, *Ham.* 3).

13. *impartitis*, *favours*, things granted to them. — *furiosum*: cf.

nostram veniunt. Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute esset certamen! Non de possessione Siciliae ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus qui, nisi nos vincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant, comparari nova possint praesidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus. Vnus quisque se non corpus suum sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet; nec domesticas solum agitet curas sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque Romanum: qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis ac Romani imperii fore.'

Haec apud Romanos consul. Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum projectis interrogare interpretem iussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro vellet. Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque

agitare, 8 n.—atque utinam, etc.: another motive,—the war is not for glory, but for existence.

14. *de*: of something as a prize. — *quondam*: in the First Punic War.—*pro*: of something to defend.

15. *nos*: in distinction from the supposed other army. — *vincimus*: the almost colloquial use of the present in protasis for the future, agreeing with the English idiom.—*quas dum*, etc., *to enable us*, etc. . . . *while they are surmounting them*, a turn made necessary by the impossibility of putting two relative words in one clause in English.

16. *unus quisque*, *every single*

one of you, more emphatic than *quisque* alone. — *domesticas*, *for his family*. — *nostras*, etc.: translate, with change of voice, 'that our deeds are watched by,' etc.

17. *deinde*, *thereafter*. — *illius*, *there*, opposed to *here*, implied in *nostra*.

HANNIBAL'S DEVICE TO RALLY HIS ARMY.

42. *rebus*, *by actions*. — *ad spectaculum*, *to witness the exhibition*. — *victor*, *if victorious*, a condition in shorthand as an apposition.

poscerent et delecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum
 3 optabat quem fortuna in id certamen legeret; cuius-
 que sors exciderat, alacer inter gratulantes gaudio exsul-
 4 tans cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. Vbi
 vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter eiusdem
 modo condicionis homines erat sed etiam inter spectantes
 vulgo, ut non vincentium magis quam bene morientium
 48 fortuna laudaretur. Cum sic aliquot spectatis paribus
 adfectos dimisisset, contione inde advocata ita apud
 2 eos locutus fertur: 'Si, quem animum in alienae sortis
 exemplo paulo ante habuistis, eundem mox in aesti-
 manda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites; neque
 enim spectaculum modo illud, sed quaedam veluti imago
 3 vestrae condicionis erat. Ac nescio an maiora vincula
 maioresque necessitates vobis quam captivis vestris for-

2. in id (sors): to see which should fight; cf. *ad id*, 27. 4, and see in *maius*, 32. 7 n.

3. cuiusque, and the one whose. — exciderat: the ancient method of casting lots was to put tablets into a vessel, either with or without water, and shake them out one at a time. — alacer inter gratulantes: artfully put together to show the feelings of all at once; the successful one was glad, and the rest congratulated him. — sui moris: cf. 28. 1.

4. dimicarent: the subjunctive of repeated action; though this is frequent in and after Livy, the indicative is also used, as in *exciderat*, just above. — spectantes, etc.: *i.e.* such was the bravery of the combatants that they excited admiration even among the Carthaginians.

HANNIBAL'S SPEECH.

48. paribus: the regular word for pairs of gladiators. — adfectos:

i.e. his soldiers; cf. *circumdato exercitu*, 42. 1. — contione: a re-assembling of the army in another form at headquarters, the regular place for addresses.

2. sortis, fate, as they either conquered or died. — exemplo, case, which served as an example or illustration of their own. — vestra: we should expect this to be emphatic, but it is displaced by an artificial emphasis on *aestimanda*, as opposed to *exemplo* (the real case as opposed to the illustration), whereby a chiasmus is produced. — vicimus: instead of the natural *vincemus*, because underlying the whole is the idea, 'if you have learned the lesson of this sight, we are already victorious.' — spectaculum: *i.e.* an ordinary exhibition for entertainment only. — imago, representation. — condicionis, situation.

3. nescio an, I don't know but, *i.e.* 'I am inclined to think,' — the usual force of the words.

tuna circumdederit: dextra laevaque duo maria claudunt 4
 nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentis, circa
 Padus amnis, maior Padus ac violentior Rhodano, ab
 tergo Alpes urgent, vix integris vobis ac vigentibus
 transitae. Hic vincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, 5
 ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem fortuna quae
 necessitatem pugnandi imposuit, praemia vobis ea vic-
 toribus proponit quibus ampliora homines ne ab diis
 quidem immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tan- 6
 tum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra
 virtute recipaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia
 essent: quidquid Romani tot triumphis partum conges-
 tumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis dominis
 futurum est. In hanc tam opimam mercedem, agite 7
 dum, diis bene iuvantibus arma capite. Satis adhuc in 8
 vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus pecora con-
 sectando nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculo-
 rumque vestrorum vidistis; tempus est iam opulenta 9
 vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae pretia
 mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot
 armatas gentes emensos. Hic vobis terminum laborum 10

4. *dextra*, etc.: showing wherein the necessity of fighting for life is greater on them than on the captives.—*duo*: the Tuscan Sea and the Adriatic. The army is conceived as facing south.—*ne ad effugium quidem*, *not even to escape*, much less to make an attack with or receive support.—*circa*: they are thought of as in a bend of the Po.—*maior Padus*: the repetition enhances the effect.—*integris*, etc.: *i.e.* in full numbers and vigor, before they were weakened by the losses and fatigues of the Alps.

6. *nostra*: opposed to parenti-

bus.—*recipaturi*: the future participle gives the force of 'trying to' or 'going to in case we conquered.'—*quidquid*, etc.: the real state of the case is added without any particle, the antithesis being enforced by the emphasis; 'if it were only *Sicily*, etc., it would be enough, (but in fact) *everything*,' etc.

7. *in*: see 32. 7 n.—*agite dum*: the colloquial use of *dum* with the imperative to increase the force.

8. *vastis*, *desolate*, thinly inhabited.

9. *tempus*: opposed to *satis* (equivalent to *satis diu*).

fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis
 11 dabit. Nec, quam magni nominis bellum est, tam diffi-
 cilem existimaritis victoriam fore: saepe et contemptus
 hostis cruentum certamen edidit et incluti populi reges-
 12 que perlevi momento victi sunt. Nam, dempto hoc uno
 fulgore nominis Romani, quid est cur illi vobis compa-
 13 randi sint? Vt viginti annorum militiam vestram cum
 illa virtute, cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis colum-
 nis, ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot
 ferocissimos Hispaniae et Galliae populos vincentes hoc
 14 pervenistis; pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa
 aestate caeso victo circumsesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc
 15 duci suo ignorantique ducem. An me in praetorio
 patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum, certe educ-
 tum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque, victorem eundem
 non Alpinarum modo gentium sed ipsarum, quod multo
 maius est, Alpium, cum semestri hoc conferam duce,
 16 desertore exercitus sui? Cui si quis demptis signis
 Poenos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum cer-
 17 tum habeo utrius exercitus sit consul. Non ego illud

11. *magni*, etc.: *i.e.* the fame of the Romans has made the war seem much more difficult than it will really be, for the reputation of a people is no sure criterion of their prowess in the actual contest. — *perlevi momento*: *i.e.* (properly) some matter of *trifling weight* has decided the case, but of course implying only a small effort on the part of the opponents.

12. *nam*, etc.: *i.e.* setting aside the prestige of the Romans, they are not to be compared to you in fighting qualities. The evidence for this Hannibal proceeds to give.

13. *ut . . . taceam*, to say nothing of. — *illa*: that which you have

shown. — *hoc*: archaic and colloquial for the more common *huc*; cf. XXII. 14. 5.

14. *pugnabitis*, you will have to contend (emphatic). — *caeso*, etc.: see 25.

15. *an me*, etc.: the words *ignoto duci* suggest vaguely that the leaders are not to be compared any more than the armies, especially in respect to the mutual confidence between soldiers and leader, which is here the main point, the other qualities of the leaders being only incidentally touched upon; hence the form of question ('isn't this true,) *or*, etc. — *eductum*: cf. I. 4 and 3. 2. — *desertore*: see 32. 2.

16. *consul*: instead of *imperator*

parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum cuius non ante oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus, cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre sua possim decora. Cum laudatis a me milies donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversus ignotos inter se ignorantesque. Quocumque circumtulī oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frenatos infrenatosque, vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos, Carthaginienses, cum pro patria tum ob iram iustissimam pugnaturos. Inferimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam, tanto audacius fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis, quanto maior spes, maior est animus inferentis vim quam arcentis. Accendit praeterea et stimulat animos dolor iniuria indignitas. Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatus adfecturi fuerunt. Crudelissima ac superbissima

or *dux*, to stigmatize Scipio's inexperience in war.

17. *notata, exactly noted.* — *sua*: cf. *sui*, 29. 5 n.

44. *quocumque*, etc.: a reason for confidence from the spirit of the troops. — *frenatos infrenatosque*: almost equivalent to 'heavy' and 'light,' the latter referring to the Numidians (46. 5), who are called *infreni* by Vergil (*Aen.* IV. 41) and by Silius (I. 215) *gens nescia freni*.

3. *inferimus bellum*: the technical term for an offensive war. — *infestis signis*: the same idea as the preceding in a different form (*in a hostile attack*). — *inferentis, arcentis*: see *pugnantium*, 29. 2 n.

4. *accendit*, etc.: *i.e.* we not

only have the greater spirit for the attack, but there are also special reasons why our feelings are inflamed and goaded on. — *dolor iniuria indignitas*, the sense of *wrong and outrage*; a case similar to the so-called hendiadys; the first is subjective (the mental pain), the other two are objective (the acts of the enemy, in two aspects, that caused the feeling). — *ad supplicium*, etc.: the details of the *iniuria* and *indignitas*. — *oppugnassetis*: indirect discourse quoted from the demand. — *deditos*: equal to *si dediti essemus*. — *fuerunt*: the regular indicative in the periphrastic conjugation in the apodosis to conditions contrary to fact (Gr. 308. d').

gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit. Cum quibus bellum, cum quibus pacem habeamus, se modum imponere aequum censet. Circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque quos non excedamus, neque eos
 6 quos statuit terminos observat. 'Ne transieris Hiberum! Ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis!' Ad Hiberum est
 7 Saguntum. 'Nusquam te vestigio moveris!' Parum est quod veterrimas provincias meas Siciliam ac Sardiniam ademisti? adimis etiam Hispanias? et inde si decessero, in Africam transcendes. Transcendes autem dico? duos consules huius anni, unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil usquam nobis
 8 relictum est nisi quod armis vindicarimus. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet qui respectum habent, quos sua terra suos ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipiet: vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse et, omnibus inter victoriam mortemque certa desperatione abruptis, aut vincere aut, si fortuna dubitabit, in proelio potius

5. **sua**: predicative. — **habeamus**: not the ordinary indirect question, but a subjunctive question put in the indirect form. — **modum imponere**, to prescribe, set the limits. — **circumscribit**, draws lines (really the *termini* below). — **neque**, and yet . . . not.

6. **ne**, etc.: an imaginary *altercatio* between Rome and Carthage. Such passages, at arms were common in Latin oratory, and Cicero (*Att.* I. 16. 8, 10) reports a famous one between himself and Clodius. — **ad Hiberum**, on the Ebro; i.e. Saguntum is not across or north of it. Hannibal objects to the construction of the treaty (see 2. 7 n.) just implied. The words have been variously explained and emended. — **nusquam**, etc.: Rome, as if cornered by Hannibal's remark,

says, in a climax of arrogance, 'then don't stir from where you are.'

7. **relictum est**: implying 'we shall have nothing,' which makes **vindicarimus** the better reading; **vindicarem** would mean, 'they have determined to leave us nothing except what we rescue from them by arms.'

8. **illis**: the Romans. — **timidis**: the more regular construction, instead of the accusative, after *licet* with an infinitive (*Gr.* 272. 2). — **respectum habent**, have something behind them to look to. — **sua**: allowed because **quos** is really the subject of discourse, although the grammatical object; see 29. 5 n. — **viris**: an uncommon construction, imitated from that with *licet*, above. — **omnibus**: for *omnibus rebus*. — **dubitabit**, shall waver.

quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum 9
omnibus destinatumque animo est, iterum dicam, vicis-
tis: nullum contemptu mortis telum ad vincendum
homini ab dis immortalibus acrius datum est.'

His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen ac- 45
censi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum
iungunt tutandique pontis causa castellum insuper im-
ponunt; Poenus hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem 2
cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopu-
landos sociorum populi Romani agros mittit; Gallis 3
parci quam maxime iubet principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus
exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque milia passuum
a Victumulis consedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; 4
revocatoque prope Maharbale atque equitibus, cum
instare certamen cerneret, nihil umquam satis dictum
praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis
ad contionem certa praemia pronuntiat in quorum spem
pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia Africa 5
Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem ipsi, qui accepisset, liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset,
ei se argento satisfacturum; qui sociorum cives Cartha- 6

9. *fixum*, etc.: probably a reminiscence from Vergil's *animo fixum immotumque* (*Aen.* IV. 15). — *iterum*: cf. 43. 2. — *contemptu mortis telum*: a conjectural emendation from *contemptum* of the oldest manuscript. For the figurative use of *telum* cf. Cic. *de Am.* 17. 61 *nec mediocre telum ad res gerendas existimare oportet benevolentiam civium*.

MOVEMENTS OF THE TWO ARMIES.

45. 2. *Maharbalem*: mentioned also in 12. 1 as the lieutenant of Hannibal. — *ala*, a *squadron*, so

called because in line of battle the cavalry was stationed on the wings.

3. *Victumulis*: apparently a village in the territory of Vercellae. The armies were both west of the Ticinus.

4. *certa*, *definite*, as opposed to the general statements made in 43. 6, 9.

5. *velit*, *maluisset*, *vellent*: the change of tense is characteristic of Livy's vivid style. — *immunem*: *i.e.* free of rent or taxes. — *argento*: the same as *pecuniam* above; cf. French *argent*.

- ginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallent, daturum se operam, ne cuius suorum popularium mutatam secum fortunam esse vellent. Servis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit binaque pro iis mancipia dominis se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum laeva manu, dextra silicem retinens, si falleret, Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent quem ad modum ipse agnum mactasset, secundum precationem caput pecudis saxo elisit.
- 9 Tum vero omnes, velut diis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id morae, quod nondum pugnarent, ad potienda sperata rati, proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt.
- 46 Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat, super cetera recentibus etiam terribus prodigiis; nam et lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen apum in arbore praetorio imminente consederat. Quibus procuratis Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium ex propinquo copiasque, quantae et cuius generis essent,

6. qui (domos): *i.e.* the allies. — *secum*: the common short-cut comparison (*comparatio compendiarum*) for *cum sua fortuna*.

7. bina, two apiece, instead of the one thus freed.

8. rata, faithfully kept, not annulled (cf. *irritus*). — agnum, etc.: a common form of oath with the ancients; cf. 1. 24. 9. — silicem: the preservation of flint knives into the bronze and iron age is an instance of the conservative influence of religion. — si falleret: representing the direct *si fallo*. — Iovem: probably put by Livy for Baal, the supreme divinity of the Carthaginians. — mactarent: indi-

rect for the imperative or subjunctive present, as *mactasset* reproduces *mactavero*.

9. auctoribus, as vouchers, or guarantors. — quisque: really in apposition with *omnes*. — id morae, that the only delay was.

CAVALRY ENCOUNTER NEAR THE TICINUS.

46. 3. procuratis: in such cases proper sacrifices were made to avert the omens, for which *procurare* is the technical word. — Scipio, etc.: the battle begins with a reconnaissance, and the two reconnoitring parties meet between the two

speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali et ipsi cum equitibus ad exploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros primo 4 cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum equorum oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et ad proelium sese expediebant. Scipio iaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte 5 locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris fuit in subsidiiis; Hannibal frenatos equites in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato iaculatores 6 fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps; dein, quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna venerat, donec Numidae, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paulum 7 ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos auxitque pavorem consulis vulnus periculumque intercursum tum primum pubescentis filii propulsatum. Hic 8

camps. — **et ipsi, who also.** — **circa:** see 7. 5 n.

4. hominum equorum: for the asyndeton see 28. 2 n. — **sese expediebant,** *began to, or proceeded to form,* a force often expressed by the imperfect.

5. iaculatores: these seem to have been stationed between the bodies of Gallic horse; cf. 6. — **in fronte:** the Romans had two lines, the Carthaginians only one, and thus outflanked the Romans; see 7. — **quod roboris, all the best; i.e.** the strength of the Italian allies. — **frenatos:** heavy Spanish cavalry. — **Numidis:** these were *infrenati* and lighter; cf. 44. 1 n.

6. vixdum: with **sublato.** — **inter subsidia:** *i.e.* into the spaces left between the squadrons of the heavy cavalry in the rear, of which

they now became a part (**ad secundam aciem**). — **quia turbabant,** etc.: this explains only **labentibus**; the main clause, **iam . . . venerat,** is explained by the two present participles; some were thrown by their frightened horses, others dismounted to aid their comrades.

7. donec: referring to the idea, 'and thus continued,' implied in the preceding. — **paulum:** with **ab tergo.** — **is pavor:** like *quo metu* and similar expressions which are regular in Latin; fear of the impending cavalry attack demoralized the Romans. — **auxit:** 'this effect was increased by the wounding of the consul and his consequent peril.' — **intercursum,** etc.: an antithetical idea, added in Latin fashion in the *form* of a mere attribute.

8. hic: Scipio Africanus, the

- erit iuvenis, penes quem perfecti huiusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenis-
 9 que appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidae invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum non armis modo sed etiam corporibus suis protegens in castra nusquam
 10 trepide neque effuse cedendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus Coelius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit.
- 47 Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit; quo facile apparuit equitatu meliorem Poenum esse et ob id campos patentis, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello ge-
 2 rendo Romanis aptos non esse. Itaque proxima nocte iussis militibus vasa silentio colligere castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus, quibus iunx-

elder.—*erit*: *i.e.* he will appear later as such; cf. Florus, I. 22. 11 *hic erit Scipio qui in exitium Africae crescit, nomen ex malis eius habiturus*. — *perfecti*, etc.: the customary '*ab urbe condita*' construction; see I. 5 n.—*de*: as if the victory were won *from* him. Compare the base-ball slang, 'so many hits *off* him' (the pitcher), which is due to precisely the same feeling.

9. *fuga*: not before mentioned, but implied in *percussit*. — *tamen*: *i.e.* though the Romans were beaten, yet the only utter rout was chiefly on the part of the javelin-throwers. — *quos primos*: since they had fled to the rear, and the cavalry had pressed forward in the fight. — *alius*: opposed to the portion of the cavalry apparently implied in *maxime*; cf. Polybius, III. 65. Another view makes *alius* equivalent to *reliqui*, including the entire

cavalry in *equitatus*. — *confertus*: opposed to *fuga effusa*. — *nusquam*, etc.: *i.e.* they retired in good order, with no confusion or rout.

10. *servati*: cf. *perfecti*, 8 n.—*Coelius*: see Intr. 10.—*malim equidem*, *I should prefer however to believe*. — *plures*: *e.g.* Polybius (X. 3), on the authority of the younger Laelius. — *obtinuit*: intransitive, as if it were (*id*) *verum esse*, for which *quod* loosely stands.

RESULTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT.

47. 2. *vasa . . . colligere*: the technical expression for breaking camp, probably slang in origin, like 'pick up one's traps,' or 'boots and saddles.' — *ab Ticino*: as Scipio's base of operations, although he had advanced beyond it (45. 3). — *iunxerat*: the subject (Scipio) is loosely implied in the preceding. The verb is emphatically opposed (by antici-

erat flumen, nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis copias traiceret. Prius Placentiam ³ pervenere quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad sescentos moratorum in citeriore ripa Padi segniter ratem solventes cepit. Transire pontem non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant, tota rate in secundam aquam labente. Coelius auctor est Magonem cum ⁴ equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo tranasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea peritis amnis eius vix fidem ⁵ fecerint; nam neque equites armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse veri simile est, ut iam Hispanos omnis inflati travexerint utres, et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerint, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis traduci posset. Potiores apud me auctores ⁶ sunt qui biduo vix locum rate iungendo flumini

pation) to resolutis. — tumultu atque insectatione: a single complex idea, as the *tumultus* would result from the *insectatio*, hence atque.

3. Placentiam: Scipio's new position of defense on the other side of the Po, so that the northern side was now abandoned. — moratorum: for *qui morati erant*. — citeriore: from Hannibal's point of view. — solventes: evidently the rear guard, whose duty it was to cross last and then set the bridge adrift; but apparently they were too late, and the bridge was cut on the southern bank by the others, who had crossed.

4. auctor est, records. — Magonem: Hannibal's brother; see 54. 1. — in ordinem, so as to form a line across the river; see 32. 7 n.

5. ea, this story. — fidem fece-

rint, can gain belief, properly 'create belief.' The perfect is practically equivalent to the present, from a fondness in Latin for marking the completion rather than the progress of an action; cf. XXII. 59. 10. — neque . . . et: correlatives. — ut iam: i.e. even if we go so far as to admit, etc., yet, with that already allowed, the rest would be impossible. — utres: cf. 27. 5 n. — petenda fuerint: a *coniunctivus modestiae*, and the past tense of the periphrastic conjugation is used for a contrary-to-fact apodosis. The change in construction from *superasse veri simile est* is awkward, but may be caused by the greater certainty of this part of the statement (certainly the baggage, etc., could not have crossed there).

6. potiores, of greater weight. — iungendo flumini: dative after

inventum tradunt; ea cum Magone equites et Hispano-
 7 rum expeditos praemissos. Dum Hannibal, circa flumen
 legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus, traicit gravius
 peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu
 fluminis diei unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes conten-
 8 dunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia a Placentia
 castra communivit et postero die in conspectu hostium
 acie directa potestatem pugnae fecit.

48 Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu
 tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliariis Gallis facta est.
 2 Ad duo milia peditum et ducenti equites vigilibus ad
 portas trucidatis ad Hannibalem transfugiunt; quos
 Poenus benigne adlocutus et spe ingentium donorum
 accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos popu-
 3 larium animos dimisit. Scipio, caedem eam signum de-
 fectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus contactosque eo
 4 scelere velut iniecta rabie ad arma ituros, quamquam
 gravis adhuc vulnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis
 insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam fluvium
 iam in loca altiora collisque impeditiores equi castra
 5 movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; missisque
 Hannibal primum Numidis, deinde omni equitatu, tur-
 basset utique novissimum agmen ni aviditate praedae in
 6 vacua Romana castra Numidae devertissent. Ibi dum

locum, as in official titles and the like. — cum Magone: *i.e. qui cum Magone erant.*

SCIPIO ON THE TREBIA. CLASTIDIUM BETRAYED TO HANNIBAL.

48. 2. adlocutus et . . . accensos: connected as if they were grammatically as well as logically parallel.

4. Trebiam: this river flows

north into the Po, near Placentia. Scipio must have gone up the river on the western bank, somewhat out of the plain. — iam: on account of the comparative, 'places that began to be,' etc.

5. minus . . . fefellit: *i.e.* he was less successful in getting off unobserved. — missis: emphatic as continuing the idea of minus fefellit; 'he was discovered and pursued.' — utique: *i.e.* the rear if not more.

perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis digno morae pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus; et cum iam transgressos Trebiam Romanos metantisque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt citra flumen interceptos. Scipio, nec vexationem vulneris in via iactati ultra patiens et collegam — iam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat — ratus expectandum, locum, qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus, delectum communiit. Nec procul inde Hannibal cum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia quae per hostium agros euntem nusquam praeparatis com meatibus maior in dies excipiebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum con-gesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi cum vim pararent, spes facta prodicionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio Brundisino praefecto praesidii cor-rupto traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito praesidio, ut fama clementiae in principio rerum collige-retur, nihil saevitum est.

Cum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, interim

6. *cum iam*, etc.: the construction is a compressed one; 'when the Carthaginians came in sight of the Romans, the latter were already across and making their camp, and so they killed only a few,' etc. — *moratorum*: probably, as in 47. 3, the perfect participle, though Livy uses nouns in *-tor* with unusual freedom; see *hortator*, II. 7; *insidiator*, XXII. 28. 5. — *citra*: from the point of view of the pursuers.

7. *collegam*: Sempronius; see 44. 7 and 51. 5.

9. *Clastidium*: a small place a little south of the Po and some distance west of the Trebia, now Casteg-

gio. — *vicum*: probably fortified as a depot, though not properly an *oppidum*. — *quo*: notice the difference of idiom in English; we say, 'where they had gathered'; the Latins, 'whither they had brought together.' — *nec sane*, and for rather a small price too; cf. 32. 10 n. — *nummis aureis*: these had not been coined in Hannibal's time, but probably the amount is reckoned according to their value a little later, about \$5.00.

AFFAIRS IN SICILY.

49. *interim*: i.e. during the events described in 26-48. —

- circa Siciliam insulasque Italiae imminentes et a Sempronio consule et ante adventum eius terra marique
 2 res gestae. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis
 ad depopulandam oram Italiae a Carthaginensibus
 missae; novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani tenu-
 3 erunt, tres in fretum avertit aestus. Ad eas conspectas
 a Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusa-
 norum missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem
 Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves
 4 Messanam in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex capti-
 vis praeter viginti naves, cuius ipsi classis essent, in
 Italiam missas, quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes
 Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lily-
 5 baei occupandi praecipuam curam esse; credere eadem
 tempestate, qua ipsi disiecti forent, eam quoque classem
 6 ad Aegatis insulas deiectam. Haec, sicut audita erant,
 rex M. Aemilio praetori, cuius Sicilia provincia erat, per-
 scribit monetque ut Lilybaeum firmo teneret praesidio.
 7 Extemplo et circa civitates a praetore missi legati tribu-

et a Sempronio . . . et ante ad-
 ventum: the order of narrative is
 chiasmic. — Sempronio: see 17. 1,
 6. — terra marique: here a mere
 phrase, as only naval operations are
 mentioned.

2. novem, octo, tres: partitive
 apposition to viginti. — tenuerunt,
held their course, succeeded in reach-
 ing the islands; see *movit*, 32. 1 n.,
 and cf. *cursum tenuit*, XXII. 31. 5.

3. ad eas conspectas, etc., *these
 were seen from Messina and*, etc.;
 the regular Latin compressed con-
 struction. — Hierone: Hiero II.
 abandoned the Carthaginians early
 in the First Punic War, and was the
 steadfast friend and ally of Rome
 till his death in 216 B.C.; see Intr.
 4. — nullo repugnante, *without*

resistance, as they were apparently
 helpless. — Messanam in por-
 tum: see Gr. 259. *h.*

4. cuius . . . classis, etc., *the
 fleet to which*, etc.; the position of
 classis is idiomatic; Gr. 201. *d.* —
 veteres socios: see Intr. 3.

5. credere: this would be paren-
 thetic in the direct form, *eadem,
 credimus, tempestate*, etc. — forent:
 see 21. 1 n.

6. praetori: Aemilius was appar-
 ently assigned to Sicily with Sem-
 pronius in case the latter should have
 to go to Africa; see 17. 6; 51. 1.

7. et, et, perque: introducing
 the three effects of Hiero's advice
 to the praetor. The period is awk-
 wardly constructed, and there is
 much doubt about the text. — circa,

nique suos ad curam custodiae intendere, et ante omnia Lilybaeum teneri apparatu belli, edicto proposito ut socii navales decem dierum cocta cibaria ad naves deferrent ut, ubi signum datum esset, ne quid moram conscen- 8 dendi faceret; perque omnem oram qui ex speculis prospicerent adventantem hostium classem missi. Itaque, 9 quamquam de industria ita moderati cursum navium erant Carthaginienses ut ante lucem accederent Lilybaeum, praesensum tamen est quia et luna pernox erat et sublatis armamentis veniebant: extemplo datum sig- 10 num ex speculis et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est et in naves conscensum; pars militum in muris portarumque stationibus, pars in navibus erant. Et Cartha- 11 ginienses, quia rem fore haud cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinerunt, demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe assumpto. Vbi inluxit, recepere classem in altum ut 12 spatium pugnae esset exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium haberent. Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam 13

around among; a new use of *circa* after verbs of motion, frequent in Livy. — *suos*: *i.e.* Roman garrisons. — *intendere, teneri*: historical infinitives, as the action is a continued one, while by *missi (sum)*, in 8, a single act is stated. — *edicto*: the substance of the order is given in *ut . . . deferrent*, and the intended effect in *ut . . . ne . . . faceret*. — *socii navales*: the service of crews on ships was less honorable than that of the legions on land, and hence originally the marines were allies and not Roman citizens.

9. *itaque*: connecting the discovery with the means by which it was accomplished. — *ante lucem*, just before daybreak (and not earlier).

— *sublatis*: *i.e.* set, instead of being taken down and stored away. — *armamentis*: *i.e.* sails, masts, and yards which could be shipped or unshipped at pleasure, according to the weather; cf. *demendis*, 11.

10. *ad arma*: the slogan itself; cf. III. 15. 6 *alternae voces* AD ARMA audiebantur; Hor. C. I. 35. 15 *neu populus frequens* AD ARMA cessantes, AD ARMA concitet; see *triumphum*, 62. 2 n. — in *naves conscensum*, the ships were manned, naturally by the sailors. — *erant*: the use of this word takes a new point of view, the time of the arrival.

11. *et*: *i.e.* they too were affected by the fact of the discovery and changed their tactics.

et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et
 50 militum multitudine ac virtute. Vbi in altum evecti
 sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et ex propinquo vires
 2 conferre velle; contra eludere Poenus et arte non vi
 rem gerere naviumque quam virorum aut armorum malle
 3 certamen facere. Nam ut sociis navalibus adfatim in-
 structam classem ita inopem milite habebant et, sicubi
 conserta navis esset, haudquaquam par numerus arma-
 4 torum ex ea pugnabat. Quod ubi animadversum est,
 et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animum et paucitas
 5 illis minuit. Extemplo septem naves Punicae circum-
 ventae, fugam ceterae ceperunt. Mille et septingenti
 fuere in navibus captis milites nautaeque, in his tres
 6 nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis Romana incolumis,
 una tantum perforata navi, sed ea quoque ipsa reduce,
 in portum rediit.
 7 Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius qui
 Messanae erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam venit.
 Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem instructam orna-
 8 tamque obviam duxit transgressusque ex regia in prae-

13. *memoria*, etc.: *i.e.* of the great battle of the Aegates in the First Punic War.

BATTLE AT LILYBAEUM. ARRIVAL OF SEMPRONIUS. LOYALTY OF HIERO.

50. *evecti sunt*: Romans as well as Carthaginians, as is implied in *nec* . . . *pugnam*, just above. — *conserere*, etc.: in those times naval battles were commonly fought by boarding and grappling, and the soldiers fought much as in land battles.

2. *eludere*, to *manœuvre*; *i.e.* to seek opportunities for ramming and disabling the adversaries' ships.

3. *si-cubi*, *whenever*, literally, 'if anywhere.' — *par*: *i.e.* equal to that of the boarding ship.

4. *sua*: see *sui*, 29. 5 n.

5. *circumventae*, *captured*.

6. *perforata*, *rammed* by the beak of the enemy. — *reduce*: *i.e.* not sunk, but kept afloat and brought into harbor.

7. *instructam*: a suggestion of Wölflin; the best MS. has only *ornatamque*, but of course *que* requires another word, and Cicero and Livy use *instruo* and *orno* together of ships.

8. *praetorium*: not the *praetor's* ship, but that of Sempronius. The old meaning of *praetor* ('leader') is retained, as in *praetorium* and

toriam **navem**, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et navibus advenisse precatusque **prosperum ac felicem** in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde insulae et Carthaginiensium conata exposuit pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum Romanum iuvenis adjuvisset, eo senem adiuturum; frumentum vestimenta⁹que sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis praebiturum; grande periculum Lilybaeo maritimisque civitatibus esse, et quibusdam volentibus novas res fore. Ob haec consuli nihil cunctandum visum quin Lilybaeum classe peteret. Et rex regiaeque classis una profecti. Navigantes inde pugnatum ad Lilybaeum fusasque et captas hostium naves acceper¹⁰e. A Lilybaeo consul Hierone **51** cum classe regia dimisso relictoque praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram ipse in insulam Melitam, quae a Carthaginiensibus tenebatur, traiecit. Advenienti Hamilcar Gisgonis filius, praefectus praesidii, cum paulo minus duobus milibus militum oppidumque cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaeum, captivique et a consule et a praetore praeter insignes nobilitate viros sub

cohors praetoria.— in **Siciliam**: i.e. the western part, to which he was to sail.

10. volentibus: probably dative, in imitation of the Greek idiom; cf. *patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga*, I. 54. 9; see Gr. 235. c, and, for a full list of the Latin examples, Roby, 1152.

11. profecti: for the gender and number see Gr. 187. b. N. — **pugnatum**: *sc. esse.* — **acceper¹⁰e**, *heard* (the news).

CRUISE OF THE ROMAN FLEET.
SEMPRONIUS HASTENS TO SCIPIO.

51. a Carthaginiensibus: Malta was not ceded to the Romans in 241 B.C.

2. milibus: governed by **cum**, **paulo minus** being parenthetical; see 29. 3 n. — **traditur**: by a kind of zeugma, middle with **Hamilcar**, but passive with **oppidum**. — **a consule**, etc.: depending on *venierunt* (see Gr. 246. a), but since each commander sold his own prisoners, the idea 'of the consul,' etc., is suggested. — **praeter**, etc.: the most distinguished were held as a kind of hostages. — **sub corona venierunt**, *were sold at auction*. Cato and other Romans derived the phrase from the garlands (*coronae*) worn by captives to be sold into slavery; others from the cordon (*corona*) of soldiers about the captives (Aul. Gell. VI. 4).

et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum et satis tutam
 50 militum multitudine ac virtute. Vbi in quia fama
 sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et ex parte quisquam
 2 conferre velle; contra eludere Poenus et transmi-
 rem gerere naviumque quam virorum aut, etque Viboni-
 3 certamen facere. Nam ut sociis navali potenti Siciliam
 structam classem ita inopem milite habentem facta
 conserta navis esset, haudquaquam par hosti in Italiam
 4 torum ex ea pugnabat. Quod ubi ante collegae ferret
 et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animi, et anxius curis
 5 illis minuit. Extemplo septem naves in Ariminum mari
 ventae, fugam ceterae ceperunt. Milia viginti quin-
 fuere in navibus captis milites nauticae et maritimamque
 6 nobiles Carthaginensium. Classis in Aemilio praetori
 una tantum perforata navi, sed ea quae. Ipse composi-
 in portum rediit.
 7 Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum profectus
 Messanae erant, Ti. Sempronius con-
 Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classis Romanarum virum
 8 tamque obviam duxit transgressus ut opus defendi posse
 tamque aliam esse satis

13. memoria, etc.: *i.e.* of the great battle of the Aegates in the First Punic War.

BATTLE AT LILYBAEUM. ARRIVAL OF SEMPRONIUS. LOYALTY OF HIERO.

50. *evecti sunt*: Romans as well as Carthaginians, as is implied in *nec . . . pugnam*, just above. — *conserere*, etc.: in those times naval battles were commonly fought by boarding and grappling, and the soldiers fought much as in land battles.

2. *eludere, to manœuvre*; *i.e.* to seek opportunities for ramming and disabling the adversaries' ships.

3. *si* 'if at

that . . . the army was sent . . . while the consul re- . . . measures to secure . . . probably by . . . communication where . . . the Aemilian Road . . . Bologna, Modena, . . . — ad Tre-

THE BATTLE OF THE TREBIA.

the two consules, etc., . . . etc.; see Gr. 292. a. . . agreeing with the . . . though belonging also . . . see Gr. 187. a. 1.

deklarabat. Tamen consul alter equestri proelio uno et 2
 vulnere suo minutus trahi rem malebat ; recentis animi
 alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur. Quod 3
 inter Trebiam Padumque agri est Galli tum incolebant,
 in duorum praepotentium populorum certamine per am-
 biguum favorem haud dubie gratiam victoris spectantes.
 Id Romani, modo ne quid moverent, aequo satis, Poenus 4
 periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad
 liberandos eos dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut praeda 5
 militem aleret, duo milia peditum et mille equites, Nu-
 midas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari
 omnem deinceps agrum usque ad Padi`ripas iussit.
 Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id dubios servassent animos, 6
 coacti ab auctoribus iniuriae ad vindices futuros decli-
 nant legatisque ad consules missis auxilium Romanorum
 terrae ob nimiam cultorum fidem in Romanos laboranti
 orant. Cornelio nec causa nec tempus agenda rei 7
 placebat, suspectaque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa

2. **tamen**: *i.e.* notwithstanding the obvious consideration that they must conquer here if anywhere. — **minutus**, *weakened, dispirited*. The MSS. have *et minutus*, suggesting that something has fallen out. — **recentis**: *i.e. integri*, not affected by any reverses. — **ferocior**, *more confident*, as often. — **patiebatur**, *could brook*; see Gr. 277. g.

3. **quod inter**, etc.: this expression implies that the Romans were encamped on the east bank of the Trebia and that the fight took place on the left bank; for, as the Trebia flows somewhat northeast and the course of the Po also is here somewhat north of east, there would be no land between the two rivers except on the west. The position of Clastidium (48. 9) and the apparently unopposed junction of Sem-

pronius with Scipio (51. 7) favor the same view. Livy's account (cf. cc. 47, 48, 56) is hopelessly confusing. — **per ambiguum favorem**, *while favoring both parties*. — **spectantes**, *who were aiming at*.

4. **modo ne**, *provided only . . . not*; see Gr. 314. a. — **moverent**: *sc. Galli*. — **accitum**: see 29. 6; the emphasis makes this the important part of the statement, 'that it was at their request,' or 'that he had been called in,' etc.

5. **eam iram**, *anger at this*, according to the regular idiom; cf. *quo metu*, 5. 4 n. — **deinceps**, *in succession*; see 8. 5 n.

6. **ad id**: *sc. temporis*. — **futuros**, *those who would be*.

7. **agenda rei**, *of taking action*. — **cum . . . tum**: introducing as usual the general and particular. —

facinora tum, ut alia vetustate obsolevisissent, ob recen-
 8 tem Boiorum perfidiam; Sempronius contra continendis
 in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse primos, qui eguis-
 9 sent ope, defensos censebat. Is tum collega cunctante
 equitatum suum mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme ad-
 mixtis ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam
 10 mittit. Sparsos et incompósitos, ad hoc gravis praeda
 plerosque cum inopinato invasissent, ingentem terrorem
 caedemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hos-
 tium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsī rursus sub-
 11 sidio suorum proelium restituere. Varia inde pugna
 sequentes cedentesque cum ad extremum aequassent
 certamen, maior tamen hostium caedes, penes Romanos
 53 fama victoriae fuit. Ceterum nemini omnium maior ea
 iustiorque quam ipsi consuli videri; gaudio efferri, qua
 parte copiarum alter consul victus foret, ea se vicisse:

ut, *although*; Gr. 313. a. — *recentem*, etc.: see 25. 2.

8. *continendis*: the dative of the end with gerundives, though restricted in the earlier Latin, is coming more and more into use; see Gr. 299. — *primos defensos*, *the support of the first*; see I. 5 n.; we should expect *primos defendere*, but Livy mixes the act in the doing with the example or effect after the act is done. — *censebat*: this formal word suggests a regular council of war.

9. *ferme*, *most of them*, the description of the kind being inserted parenthetically. — *trans Trebiam*: *i.e.* according to the most probable view, to the west.

10. *sparsos*: the Carthaginian foragers. — *stationes*: the outposts of the enemy at their camp. — *unde*: *i.e.* from the camp. — *rursus*: a third moment, the arrival of Roman reinforcements.

11. *sequentes cedentesque*: an emendation of the impossible *sequentesque*. — *caedes, penes*: Madvig's suggestion for filling the evident gap in the text.

EFFECT OF THE CAVALRY SKIRMISH.

53. *ceterum*: in allusion to *fama*, etc., above. — *ea*: *sc. victoria*. — *iustior, more complete*, properly, 'fulfilling all requirements.' — *consuli*: Sempronius, the one who was engaged in the contest. — *qua parte*, etc.: *i.e.* the cavalry, in which the enemy were so much superior. — *se vicisse*: if the verb of emotion (*gaudio efferri*) is practically a verb of saying or thinking, the infinitive is preferred to a *quod* clause. But here, too, Livy uses the infinitive more freely than any previous prose writer; see 10. 11; 50. 8; XXII. 14. 7; 59. 10.

restitutos ac refectos militibus animos, nec quemquam² esse praeter conlegam qui dilatam dimicationem vellet; eum animo magis quam corpore aegrum memoria vulneris aciem ac tela horrere. Sed non esse cum aegro senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus?³ Quem tertium consulem, quem alium exercitum expectari? Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia ac prope in⁴ conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam victis ademptas nec cis Hiberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo patrio terraque, in qua geniti forent, pelli Romanos. 'Quantum ingemiscant' inquit 'patres nostri, circa⁵ moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia paventis intra castra, Poenum quod inter Alpīs Appenninumque agri sit suae dicionis fecisse?' Haec adsidens aegro collegae, haec in praetorio prope⁶ contionabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propinquum comitiorum, ne in novos consules bellum differre-

2. *dilatam*: for this idiomatic construction after verbs of wishing, see Gr. 292. *d. N.* — *senescendum*: *i.e.* lose one's vigor; Livy is fond of this metaphor: *senescere civitatem*, I. 22. 2; *Hannibalem ipsum et fama senescere et viribus*, XXIX. 3.

3. *differri*: rhetorical question in indirect discourse; see Gr. 338; for the impersonal use of the verb, cf. 21. 2.

4. *cis Hiberum Hispaniam*: cf. *pugna ad Trebiam*, 15. 6 n. — *PELLI*: conative present, *were being driven*, *i.e.* the effort was being made.

5. *ingemiscant*: we should expect the imperfect, as contrary to fact, but the case is treated rhetorically as a possible one, just as in English either construction may be used. — *circa*, etc.: in harmony

with the tone of the speech; only the army of Regulus had approached Carthage, and it was speedily defeated. — *suae*: the emphatic position continues the emphasis of *Poenum*.

6. *adsidens*, at the bedside of; an almost technical word for attending on the sick. — *contionabundus*: *i.e.* addressing the soldiers; the idea is that he said these things so freely that a crowd gathered and so, as if in a meeting, he tried to prejudice the soldiers against his colleague; for the adjective see 36. 1 n. — *stimulabat*: notice the emphasis. — *ne*, for fear that, as there is an idea of fear implied in the main clause. — *in novos consules*, to the next official year; the evil effects of frequent change of magistrates and the consequent jealousy

tur et occasio in se unum vertendae gloriae dum aeger
7 collega erat. Itaque nequiquam dissentiente Cornelio
parari ad propinquum certamen milites iubet.

- Hannibal, cum quid optimum foret hosti cerneret, vix
ullam spem habebat temere atque improvide quicquam
8 consules acturos; cum alterius ingenium, fama prius,
deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox sciret esse, feroci-
usque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis certamine
crederet, adesse gerendae rei fortunam haud diffidebat.
9 Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus, sollicitus inten-
tusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum melio-
rem ex ducibus inutilem vulnus faceret, dum Gallorum
10 animi vigerent, quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat
segnius secururam quanto longius ab domo traherentur.
11 Cum ob haec taliaque speraret propinquum certamen et
facere, si cessaretur, cuperet, speculatoresque Galli, ad
ea exploranda quae vellet tutiores, quia in utrisque
castris militabant, paratos pugnae esse Romanos retu-
lissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus coepit.
54 Erat in medio rivus praealtis utrimque clausus ripis et
circa obsitus palustribus herbis et, quibus inculta ferme
vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites
quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumvectus

of successors in office are noticeable in Roman history. — *erat*: instead of the usual present with *dum* on account of a kind of contrast of times; *i.e.* 'before he got well'; Gr. 276. *ε. N.*

7. *itaque nequiquam*, etc.: the emphasis gives a force like, 'And so, in spite of the vain remonstrances of Scipio.' — *foret*: see 21. I n.

10. *segnius*, *less eagerly*. — *ab domo*: the preposition is regular with *longe* and *prope*.

11. *facere, to force it*. — *milita-*

bant: *sc. Galli*, but not of course those just mentioned.

THE BATTLE OF THE TREBIA.

54. *in medio*: between Hannibal's camp and the Trebia. — *rivus*: it is impossible to tell which of the many water-courses of the region is meant. — *inculta ferme*: as usual such ravines are waste land. — *equites quoque*: *i.e.* not merely for foot-soldiers, but deep enough for both man and horse. — *te-*

ipse oculis perlustravit, 'Hic erit locus' Magoni fratri ait 'quem teneas. Delige centenos viros ex omni pedite² atque equite cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias; nunc corpora curare tempus est.' Ita praetorium missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. 'Robora virorum cerno' inquit Hannibal; 'sed uti numero etiam, non animis modo valeatis, singuli vobis novenos ex turmis manipulisque vestri similes eligite. Mago locum monstrabit quem insideatis: hostem caecum ad has belli artes habetis.' Ita mille equitibus mille peditibus⁴ dimissis Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen obequitare iubet hostium portis iaculandoque in stationes elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde certamine cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Haec mandata Numidis; ceteris ducibus⁵ peditum equitumque praeceptum ut prandere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis signum expectare.

Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem⁶ equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex milia peditum, postremo omnes copias ad destinatum iam ante consilio avidus certaminis eduxit. Erat forte brumae⁷ tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Appenninoque

gendo: probably the only instance in prose Latin of a gerund in the dative with an object; see Roby, 1382. — **Magoni**: 47. 4.

2. **centenos**: *i.e.* a hundred from each arm.

3. **praetorium**, the council (of war); so called from the place where it was usually held, though here it must be supposed that the council was held in the field on the spot. — **robora virorum**, a picked body, the choicest troops; cf. *robore peditum*, 34. 5. — **turmis manipu-**

lisque: Roman technical terms, and a chiasmic variation on **peditate atque equite**, 2. — **caecum ad artes**: cf. *ad artes rudis*, 25. 6.

4. **iniecto**, having set on foot; but the word is used as with *cupido*, *metus*, and similar words. — **citra**: from Hannibal's point of view.

6. **tumultum**, sudden attack. — **ferox**, confident, from his previous success. — **ad destinatum** . . . **consilio**, for the purpose already settled in his mind.

interiectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludium
 8 praegelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque
 equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum
 frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat et, quidquid aurae
 fluminis appropinquabant, adflabat acrior frigoris vis.
 9 Vt vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam in-
 gressi sunt — et erat pectoribus tenus aucta nocturno
 imbri —, tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora ut
 vix armorum tenendorum potentia esset, et simul lassi-
 55 tudine et procedente iam die fame etiam deficere. Han-
 nibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque
 per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per
 otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostis nuntiatum
 est, alacer animis corporibusque arma capit atque in
 2 aciem procedit. Baliares locat ante signa, levem arma-
 turam, octo ferme milia hominum, dein graviorem armis
 peditem, quod virium, quod roboris erat; in cornibus
 circumfudit decem milia equitum, et ab cornibus in

8. *ad hoc*: *i.e.* in addition to the effect of the severe weather. — *ope*: perhaps such as the use of fire, as well as oil; see 55. 1. — *quidquid appropinquabant*, *as fast as, whatever advance they made*.

— *acrior*: because of the comparative idea implied in the first clause.

9. *ut vero*: the formal climax; cf. *tum vero*. — *erat*, *reached*, the cause being given in *aucta*, etc. — *utique*: a kind of correction of the preceding: 'the extreme of cold came when they entered the water; at any rate, after they came out they were almost frozen.' — *procedente iam*, *beginning to get on*.

HANNIBAL COMES OUT TO BATTLE.

55. 2. *locat*: the change of subject is abrupt and perhaps occa-

sioned by the emphasis given to *Hannibalis* in the preceding. — *ante signa*: Livy uses the regular Roman expression, and probably so far the tactics of the two armies were nearly alike; cf. *per manipulos*, 1. — *levem armaturam*: it seems from this apposition and from the statements in 6 and 9 that the Balearians included all the light armed; the number (8,000) is surprisingly large, and perhaps *et* has fallen out before *levem*. — *dein*, *next in order*; the local sense is unusual; cf. *deinde*, XXII. 4. 2. — *quod*, etc., *the strength and stay of his army*; twenty thousand, according to Polybius. — *in cornibus*: the regular place for cavalry. — *ab cornibus*, etc.: *i.e.* from the regular wings outward to lengthen the line; cf. *eminentes*, etc., 7.

utramque partem divisos elephantos statuit. Consul 3
 effuse sequentis equites, cum ab resistentibus subito
 Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato revo-
 catos circumdedit peditibus. Duodeviginti milia Ro- 4
 mana erant, socium nominis Latini viginti, auxilia prae-
 terea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide manserat Gallica
 gens. Iis copiis concursus est. Proelium a Baliaribus 5
 ortum est; quibus cum maiore robore legiones obsiste-
 rent, diducta propere in cornua levis armatura est, quae 6
 res effecit ut equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur.
 Nam cum vix iam per se resisterent decem milibus
 equitum quattuor milia et fessi integris plerisque, obruti
 sunt insuper velut nube iaculorum a Baliaribus coniecta.
 Ad hoc elephantum eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis 7
 maxime non visu modo sed odore insolito territis, fugam
 late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam 8
 viribus erat, quas recentis Poenus paulo ante curatis cor-
 poribus in proelium attulerat; contra ieiuna fessaque
 corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitis-
 sent tamen animis si cum peditibus solum foret pugnatum;
 sed et Baliares pulso equite iaculabantur in latera et 9
 elephantum iam in mediam peditum aciem sese intulerant

3. *resistentibus*, *stopping their flight*. — *exciperentur*: *i.e.* they were caught and cut off from the main body in their detached and irregular pursuit.

4. *Romana*: we should expect *Romanorum*; cf. *milia armatorum fortia*, XXII. 60. 20. — *nominis Latini*: this term included those who had the qualified Roman citizenship, originally given to residents of towns in Latium. — *Cenomanorum*: living about Brixia and Verona. They were at feud with their neighbors and so likely to be on the side of the Romans.

5. *maiore*, *too great*, for them to withstand.

6. *quae . . . ut*, and the result of this manoeuvre was that. — *fessi integris*: the ill-matched physical condition of the combatants is added chiasmatically to their unequal numbers. — *plerisque*: all except the original skirmishers, the Numidians. — *insuper*, *besides*. — *coniecta*: strictly the participle should agree with *iaculorum*.

8. *animis*, *by sheer courage*, notwithstanding their physical condition.

9. *in mediam . . . aciem*: they

et Mago Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum improvida
 praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum
 10 ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis
 mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime praeter spem
 11 omnium adversus elephantos. Eos velites ad id ipsum
 • locati verutis coniectis et avertere et insecuti aversos
 sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute vulnera accipiunt,
 56 fodiebant. Trepidantisque et prope iam in suos con-
 sternatos e media acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu
 adversus Gallos auxiliares agi iussit Hannibal. Ibi ex-
 templo haud dubiam fecere fugam eoque novus terror
 2 additus Romanis ut fusa auxilia sua viderunt. Itaque
 cum iam in orbem pugnarent, decem milia ferme homi-
 num, cum alia evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie,
 qua Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti caede
 3 hostium perrupere et, cum neque in castra reditus esset
 flumine interclusis neque prae imbri satis decernere pos-
 sent qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere
 4 perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones
 factae; et qui flumen petiere, aut gurgitibus absumpti
 sunt aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab hostibus
 5 oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant, alii
 vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam conten-
 dere, aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen
 6 fecit, transgressisque in castra pervenerunt. Imber nive
 mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et

had apparently advanced obliquely,
 and were now concentrated on the
 infantry in the centre.

ROUT OF THE ROMANS.

56. 2. *in orbem*: the accusa-
 tive on account of the double idea
 of forming a circle and fighting in it.

3. *imbri*: the first mention of
 this circumstance; cf. 6. — *Placen-
 tiam*, etc.: throughout this chapter
 Livy apparently feels that the battle
 was fought on the east side of the
 Trebia, or that Placentia was on the
 west side; see 52. 3 n.

5. *contendere*: perfect.

6. *homines*: *i.e.* Carthaginians.

iumenta et elephantos prope omnis absumpsit. Finis 7
insequendi hostis Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita tor-
pentes gelu in castra rediere ut vix laetitiam victoriae
sentirent. Itaque nocte insequenti, cum praesidium 8
castrorum et quod reliquum ex fuga semermium ex
magna parte militum erat ratibus Trebiam traicerent,
aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia aut, quia iam moveri 9
nequibant prae lassitudine ac vulneribus, sentire sese
dissimularunt, quietisque Poenis tacito agmine ab Sci-
pione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde
Pado traiecto Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hiber-
nis una colonia premeretur.

Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est ut iam 57
ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hostem
venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse quo portis
moenibusque vim arcerent: uno consule ad Ticinum 2
victo alterum ex Sicilia revocatum; duobus consulibus,
duobus consularibus exercitibus victis, quos alios duces,
quas alias legiones esse quae arcessantur? Ita territis 3
Sempronius consul advenit, ingenti periculo per effusos
passim ad praedandum hostium equites audacia magis
quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non falle-

—**prope omnes**: Polybius (III. 74) says that all but one perished; see 58. 11.

8. **itaque**, etc.: the consequence of **torpentes gelu**, and the implied demoralization. This night scene is not mentioned in Polybius, and the items seem very improbable, — the prompt securing of the rafts, the strange inactivity of Hannibal, and the sudden appearance of the wounded Scipio. — **ex fuga semermium**: a conjecture of Luchs. Something is needed with **ex magna parte**.

9. **dissimularunt**, *pretended not*

to. — **Scipione**: Sempronius is not mentioned, but is presumed to be already at Placentia; hence **duorum**.

ALARM IN ROME. HANNIBAL'S WINTER MOVEMENTS.

57. Romam: for the emphatic position cf. *in Italiam*, 25. 1 n. — **iam, next**; *i.e.* after his successes against the protecting armies.

2. **revocatum**: see 51. 5.

3. **Sempronius**, etc.: this journey of the consul is mentioned only by Livy; cf. 15. 6.

4 ret, transgressus, inde, quod unum maxime in praesentia desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis in hiberna rediit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.

5 Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, ut quaeque iis impeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur undique clausi commeatus erant, nisi quos Pado

6 naves subveherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit et opere magno munitum et valido firmatum praesidio. Eius castelli oppugnandi spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus Hannibal, cum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus non

7 fefellit vigiles. Tantus repente clamor est sublatus ut Placentiae quoque audiretur. Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat iussis quadrato agmine legioni-

8 bus sequi. Equestre interim proelium commissum; in quo quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore hosti-

9 bus iniecto defensum egregie praesidium est. Paucorum inde dierum quiete sumpta et vixdum satis percurato

10 vulnere ad Victumulas oppugnandas ire pergit. Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; munitum inde

4. quod unum: referring to comitiis . . . habitis. — consules: for the official year beginning in March, 217 B.C. — Flaminius: as he had been consul in 223 B.C., *iterum* would regularly be added.

5. Celtiberis, etc.: because these were more accustomed to a rough country.

6. emporium: probably a fortified harbor or port on the river.

7. consul: probably Scipio, though he was last heard of at Cremona. The return of Sempronius from Rome is first given at 59. 2. — quadrato agmine: see 5. 16 n.

8. saucius: Hannibal's second wound; see 7. 10.

9. Victumulas: cf. 45. 3. — ire pergit, *he hurries on*; a favorite phrase in Livy, implying haste and energy, and regularly in the historical present.

10. emporium, *storehouse for supplies*; see the same word in 6 in a different relation. — Gallico bello: the desperate effort in 225–222 B.C. of Gauls from both sides of the Alps to invade central Italy, which ended with the capture of Mediolanum (Milan) by Cn. Scipio and the planting of Roman colonies at Cremona and Placentia. —

locum frequentaverant accolae mixti undique ex finitimis populis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex agris compulerat. Huius generis multitudo fama impigre defensi ad Placentiam praesidii accensa armis arreptis obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina quam acies in via concurrerunt, et cum ex altera parte nihil praeter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et miles duci fidens, ad triginta quinque milia hominum a paucis fusa. Postero die deditione facta praesidium intra moenia accepere; iussique arma tradere cum dicto paruisent, signum repente victoribus datur, ut tamquam vi captam urbem diriperent. Neque ulla quae in tali re memorabilis scribentibus videri solet praetermissa clades est: adeo omne libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae superbiae editum in miseros exemplum est. Hae fuere hibernae expeditiones Hannibalis.

Haud longi inde temporis, dum intolerabilia frigora erant, quies militi data est; et ad prima ac dubia signa veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quo-

frequentaverant, had increased the population. — tum: *i.e.* at this particular time, in contrast with the general statement which precedes.

12. *agmina, columns*; cf. XXXIII. 9 *phalanx, agmen magis quam acies aptiorque itineri quam pugnae.* — in via: *i.e.* without waiting to form.

14. *scribentibus, historians*; cf. *rerum scriptores*, I. I, and see *pugnantium*, 29. 2 n. — *clades, outrage*; properly, injury to person and property. — *omne, etc., every species of, etc., was practiced*; properly, 'an example of every cruelty was displayed,' *i.e.* the case was extreme enough to serve as a precedent and warning. — *adeo*: see II. I n. Compare Hannibal's treatment of prisoners in 48. 10.

HANNIBAL ATTEMPTS THE APENNINES.

Polybius says nothing of the events narrated in 58 and 59, — Hannibal's attempt to cross the Apennines, the cavalry battle, and the march of Sempronius to Lucca. It is difficult to justify the reported movements of Hannibal and Sempronius, nor is it credible that what is said of Hannibal could have taken place between the *signa veris* (58. 2) and the start for Etruria in XXII. 1 (*iam ver appetebat*). The withdrawal of Sempronius to Lucca (59. 10) can hardly be reconciled with the statements in 63. 1 and 15. 58. *erant*: see note on *ducebatur*, 25. 11.

2. *ducit, began his march* (*con-*

que gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque, aut vi aut voluntate adiuncturus. Transeuntem Appenninum adeo atrox adorta tempestas est ut Alpium prope foeditatem superaverit. Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant aut contra ententes vertice intorti adfligebantur, constitere; dein, cum iam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam sineret, aversi a vento parumper consedere. Tum vero ingenti sono caelum strepere et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes; capti auribus et oculis metu omnes torpere. Tandem effuso imbre, cum eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo quo deprensi erant loco castra ponere necessarium visum est. Id vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit: nam nec explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant nec quod statutum esset manebat, omnia perscindente vento et rapiente. Et mox aqua levata vento, cum super gelida montium iuga concreta esset, tantum nivosae grandinis deiecit ut omnibus omis-

tive); cf. *movit*, 32. 1 n. — *adiuncturus*, to secure; cf. *futuro*, 4. 10 n.

3. *superaverit*: the usual breach of the *consecutio temporum* in clauses of result; see Gr. 287. c. — *aut arma*, etc.: the alternatives were that either they had to drop their shields, etc., or, if they tried to struggle against the storm with them, they were caught in the cyclone and thrown to the ground on account of the greater surface they presented. — *constitere*, they halted, to secure a firmer footing.

4. *spiritum*: this does not differ in sense from *animam*, but represents the same thing in a different phase. The outgoing breath was stopped, and so they could not alternate their breathing as a function of the inner organs. — *aversi a vento*, with their backs to the wind.

5. *tum vero*: a decisive moment; cf. *ut vero*, 54. 9 n. — *fragores*: the same idea as *sono*, but added to connect with *ignes* and give the idea of separate peals alternating with flashes. — *capti*, etc.: the fact that they could neither see nor hear increased their terror.

6. *tandem* (after *primo* and *dein*): the three moments are the halt, the sitting down, and the encamping.

7. *quicquam*: with *explicare*, the material (hides or canvas) for the tents; with *statuere*, the poles. — *statutum esset*: the subjunctive, as in *vellet*, 9, is that of repeated action. The statement is inconsistent with what has just been said.

8. *aqua*: i.e. a thick mist. — *nivosae grandinis*, sleet. — *omnibus*

sis procumberent homines tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti; tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est ut ex illa 9 miserabili hominum iumentorumque strage cum se quisque attollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torpenti- bus rigore nervis vix flectere artus poterant. Deinde, 10 ut tandem agitando sese movere ac recipere animos et raris locis ignis fieri est coeptus, ad alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Biduum eo loco velut obsessi man- 11 sere. Multi homines, multa iumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis, qui proelio ad Trebiam facto superfuerant, septem absumpti.

Degressus Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra mo- 59 vit et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero die duodecim milia peditum, quinque equitum adversus hostem ducit; nec Sempronius consul — iam enim redierat 2 ab Roma — detrectavit certamen. Atque eo die tria milia passuum inter bina castra fuere; postero die in- 3 gentibus animis vario eventu pugnatum est. Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit ut non acie vincerent solum, sed pulsos hostes in castra perse- querentur, mox castra quoque oppugnarent. Hannibal 4 paucis propugnatoribus in vallo portisque positis ceteros confertos in media castra recepit, intentosque signum

omissis: *i.e.* chiefly the tents which they were trying to set up.

9. strage, heap, *i.e.* the whole army prostrate on the ground.

10. movere ac recipere: *sc. coeperunt*, anticipated from est coeptus. — ad alienam opem, to the others for help.

11. septem: cf. 56. 6; XXII. 2. 10.

A CAVALRY SKIRMISH.

59. ad (decem): cf. 22. 3 n. — milia (progressus): without

passuum, as occasionally in other writers; hence our 'mile,' though the distance is somewhat greater, while 'pace' is a single step, not a double one, like *passus*: cf. *momento* without *temporis*, 14. 3.

3. ingentibus animis, etc.: the account reads like a pure fabrication.

4. confertos: *i.e. ita ut conferti essent*. — media castra: Hannibal's camp is conceived of as laid out like the Roman camp; so in 6, below.

5 ad erumpendum expectare iubet. Iam nona ferme diei
 hora erat cum Romanus nequiquam fatigato milite, post-
 quam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui
 6 dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit laxatamque pugnam
 et recessum a castris vidit, extemplo equitibus dextra
 laevaue emissis in hostem ipse cum peditum robore
 7 mediis castris erupit. Pugna raro magis ulla saeva aut
 utriusque partis perniciē clarior fuisset si extendi eam
 8 dies in longum spatium sivillet: nox accensum ingenti-
 bus animis proelium diremit. Itaque acrior concursus
 fuit quam caedes et, sicut aequata ferme pugna erat, ita
 clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sescentis
 9 plus peditibus et dimidium eius equitum cecidit; sed
 maior Romanis quam pro numero iactura fuit quia
 equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et
 10 praefecti sociorum tres sunt interfecti. Secundum eam
 pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam con-
 cessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias inter-
 cepti duo quaestores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius,
 cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordi-
 nis, senatorum ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum
 iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

6. *laxatam* (*sc. esse*), *slackened*.
 — *dextra laevaue*: cf. *media*, 4.

7. *saeva* aut: a conjecture from the MS. *aeaut*; other suggestions are *aequa* aut and *varia* et.

8. *accensum*: cf. *accensa*, 58. 6.
 — *dimidium eius*, *half that*, just as in English.

9. *maior*, etc.: *i.e.* the quality of the loss was out of proportion to its amount. — *quam pro*: see 29. 2 n.
 — *equestris ordinis*: *i.e.* knights proper (*equites equo publico*) who in earlier times had constituted the whole cavalry. Strictly speaking, there was no *ordo equester* before

the legislation of Gaius Gracchus in 123 B.C.

10. *secundum*, *immediately after*; Livy is exceptionally fond of this preposition in its temporal sense. — *Lucam*: in the valley of the Serchio, on the southern slope of the mountains, in the same general depression as the Arno (Leghorn, Pisa, Florence). If this is true, Sempronius thus abandoned the country north of the Apennines and guarded the roads through Etruria. — *traduntur*: by the Ligurians, who had in some unexplained manner captured them.

cemviri iussi; quod autem lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno novemdiale sacrum edictum, et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota civitas operata fuit. Iam primum 7 omnium urbs lustrata est hostiaeque maiores quibus editum est diis caesae, et donum ex auri pondo 8 quadraginta Lanuvium Iunoni portatum est, et signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Aventino dedicaverunt, et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes adtenuatae erant, imperatum et supplicatio Fortunae in Algido; Romae quo- 9

cemviri: Livy (X. 8. 2) calls them *carminum Sibyllae ac fatorum populi huius (sc. Romani) interpretes*. — **quod**, etc.: for this particular portent there was a precedent to follow, even from the days of Tullus Hostilius (I. 31. 4); for all the others (*cetera*) the sacred books must be consulted. — **novemdiale sacrum**: as human efforts depended on the course of nature, which was ordinarily uniform, any disturbance of that uniformity was regarded as indicating the displeasure of the gods. It was all-important that the gods should be appeased by sacrifices, and these were single or continued according to the degree of displeasure as indicated by the magnitude of the occurrence. In this case a nine days' rite, occupying the Roman week (*nundinae*), was the regular *procuratio*, or proper expiation. The precise rites are not known, but the time was a holiday (*seriae imperativae* in this case), and probably a sacrifice was offered each day to Jupiter. — **subinde**, one after the other, in consequence of the number of prodigies; see 20. 8 n. — **procurandis**: 46. 3 n. — **tota civitas**: this would seem to indicate that the sacrifices had the nature of the *supplicatio*, in which all the citizens individually took part, going to the temples with their

wives and children and making private sacrifices to their favorite gods. — **operata**, engaged; a religious word, with a special meaning as a perfect participle (hence fuit) of being occupied in a religious function.

7. **lustrata**: the *lustratio* consisted in a procession of priests and victims around the spot to be purified, accompanied by sprinklings and prayers and followed by a sacrifice; see I. 44. 2. — **maiores**: the full-grown victims, which were, of course, more costly; see XXII. 1. 15. — **editum est** (*sc. ut caederentur*): i.e. by the *decemviri* upon an examination of the books

8. **pondo**: this ablative (*in weight*) has come, by the omission of a case of *libra*, to be indeclinable, and itself to mean *pounds*. — **Lanuvium Iunoni**: see Gr. 225. *b*, and cf. 259. *h*. — **matronae**: nominative plural; cf. XXII. 1. 18. — **in Aventino**: evidently this cult was connected with that of Lanuvium. — **Fortunae**: probably on general principles, as nothing is mentioned concerning her before. This is also the case with Juventas and Hercules. — **Algido**: a mountain ridge in Latium, where was an old cult of Diana. Perhaps the rites to Fortune were connected with hers, as the most famous temple of Fortune was at Praeneste, not far distant.

que et lectisternium Iuventati et supplicatio ad aedem
Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa om-
nia pulvinaria indicta, et Genio maiores hostiae caesae
10 quinque, et C. Atilius Serranus praetor vota suscipere
iussus, si in decem annos res publica eodem stetis-
11 set statu. Haec procurata vota ex libris Sibyllinis
magna ex parte levaverant religione animos.

63 Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eae le-
giones quae Placentiae hibernabant sorte evenerant,
edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus
2 idibus Martiis Arimini adesset in castris. Hic in pro-
vincia consulatum inire consilium erat memori veterum

9. *Iuventati*: this goddess, one of the vague deities of the Romans called *Indigetes*, was identified with the more anthropomorphic Hebe, and so regarded as the wife of Hercules. — *nominatim*: in a *supplicatio* the people worshiped not all at the same temples, but at whatever shrine they pleased. Here, however, the express mention of these two divinities would make it obligatory to worship them especially, while general *supplicatio* could be performed at will. — *Genio*: the protecting divinity of the Roman people, here first mentioned.

10. *praetor*: because the consuls were in the field. Atilius appears to have returned to Rome after giving his troops to Scipio (39. 3). — *vota*: what the vow was does not appear. — *in decem annos*, for the next ten years, as a period to look forward to; cf. *ad quinquennium proximum*, XXII. 10. 2. — *stetisset*: in the vow *steterit*; cf. 21. 9.

11. *vota*: this word had become practically a noun, but here it is joined with *haec* in the same construction as *procurata*; see I. 5 n.

-- *ex (libris)*, in accordance with, as often. Here the development of that meaning is plainly seen. — *levaverant*: taking a new point of view, as, for instance, the time of the *comitia*, which is passed over without mention. — *religione*, *religious fear*, i.e. the demoralization connected with the unfavorable omens above mentioned.

C. FLAMINIUS, CONSUL ELECT.

63. *alter*: his colleague (for the consular year from March 15, 217 B.C.) was Cn. Servilius, the candidate of the aristocracy. — *edictum*, etc.: it would appear that the consuls elect had certain powers in regard to preparing for their functions, yet it is not safe to take such a time as this as a criterion for the ordinary usage. — *ad consulem*: apparently Sempronius (15), as Scipio is not mentioned. Nothing, moreover, is said about Sempronius's army being at Lucca (59. 10 n.).

2. *hic in provincia*, etc.: usually the entrance upon office was made at Rome with special religious ceremonies; cf. 8, below. — *memori*, etc.: he was afraid of being called

certainum cum patribus, quae tribunus plebis et quae postea consul prius de consulatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat, invisus etiam patribus ob novam ³ legem quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum atque uno patrum adiuvante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator cuive senator pater fuisset maritimam navem, quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet. Id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectan- ⁴ dos; quaestus omnis patribus indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob haec ratus auspiciis ⁵ ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe, simulato

back or hindered by the hostile senate. — **tribunus**: he had proposed (B.C. 232) an agrarian law for colonizing Picenum; cf. Cic. *Sen.* 4. 11. In pursuance of this plan, he later built the great North Road (*via Flaminia*) to Ariminum. — **abrogabatur**, it was attempted to annul (B.C. 223), as irregular in respect to religious observances. — **triumpho**: the Senate tried to prevent his triumph after his campaign against the Insubres (B.C. 223).

3. **invisus**: carelessly joined with the subject of *habuerat* instead of agreeing, like *memori*, with *Flaminio* implied in *consilium erat*. — **novam**, revolutionary; cf. *novae res*. — **legem**: probably in 220 B.C., when Flaminio was censor; it was directed against the greed of the aristocracy, and all commerce on their part. — **uno patrum**: the ablative with *de* or *ex* is much more frequent with *unus*. — **cuive**: i.e. a son of a senator, who, after his father's death, had not yet become a senator. The form of expression is caused by the fact that

a son during his father's life could not strictly hold property; hence *filius senatoris* would not be exact enough for the law. — **maritimam**, sea-going; i.e. it was only directed against foreign commerce. — **amphorarum**: the tonnage of vessels was thus measured, an *amphora* containing a cubic foot of wine, or about seven gallons. Three hundred *amphorae* would be about seven and one-half tons. These statements ignore the difference between the Roman and English foot.

4. **patribus**: to be joined with *indecorus*.

5. **auspiciis ementiendis**, by falsely pronouncing the omens unfavorable; since nothing could be done without consultation of the auspices, these became a potent instrument of fraud in the hands of the nobility. — **Latinarum feriarum**: the first act of the consul was regularly the ordering of the sacrifice to Jupiter Latiaris on Mons Albanus, a delay which Flaminio wished to avoid. — **consularibus**: i.e. used against consuls. The Ro-

- 6 itinere privatus clam in provinciam abiit. Ea res ubi
 palam facta est novam insuper iram infestis iam ante
 patribus movit: non cum senatu modo sed iam cum diis
 7 immortalibus C. Flaminium bellum gerere. Consulem
 ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie diis
 atque hominibus non paruisse; nunc conscientia spre-
 torum et Capitolium et sollemnem votorum nuncupa-
 8 tionem fugisse, ne die initi magistratus Iovis optimi
 maximi templum adiret, ne senatum invisus ipse et sibi
 uni invisum videret consuleretque, ne Latinas indiceret
 9 Iovique Latiari sollemne sacrum in monte faceret, ne
 auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda,
 paludatus inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret. Lixae
 modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus profectum clam,
 furtim, haud aliter quam si exsilii causa solum vertisset.
 10 Magis pro maiestate videlicet imperii Arimini quam
 Romae magistratum initurum et in deversorio hospitali
 11 quam apud penates suos praetextam sumpturum. Revo-
 candum universi retrahendumque censuerunt et cogen-
 dum omnibus prius praesentem in deos hominesque
 fungi officiis quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret.
 12 In eam legationem — legatos enim mitti placuit — Q.
 Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis eum
 moverunt quam priore consulatu litterae moverant ab
 13 senatu missae. Paucos post dies magistratum iniit, im-

mans were masters in the arts of
 filibustering.

7. *inauspicato*: because there
 was a flaw in the proceedings. —
ex ipsa acie, etc.: Flaminius re-
 ceived the dispatch summoning him
 to Rome as he was about to fight the
 Insubres, but he refused to read it till
 after his victorious engagement. —
spretorum (*sc. deorum atque homi-*
num): opposed to *revocantibus*.

8. *initi magistratus*: see 1. 5 n.
 — *Latinas*: *sc. ferias*. — *monte*:
sc. Albano.

9. *paludatus*: with the *paluda-*
mentum or scarlet cloak of the gen-
 eral. — *lixae*: a mere camp fol-
 lower or sutler. — *solum vertisset*:
 a technical term for going into
 banishment.

11. *censuerunt*: the formal vote
 of the senate.

molantique ei vitulus iam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circumstantes cruore respersit; fuga procul etiam maior apud ignaros quid trepidaretur, et concursatio fuit. Id a plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum. Legionibus inde duabus a Sempronio prioris anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio praetore acceptis in Etruriam per Appennini tramites exercitus duci est coeptus.

13. *ei*: a good example of the *dativus incommodi*; see Gr. 235. N. — *sese cum proripuisset*: always a dire omen.

14. *procul*: opposed to *circumstantes*. — *etiam maior*: *i.e.* than the facts naturally would cause.

15. *legionibus*: nothing is said about new levies, which no doubt

were made, nor how Sempronius came from Lucca. The whole differs from Polybius' account, and is extremely confused in itself. — *exercitus*, etc.: as Flaminius, and not the army, is the proper subject of *acceptis*, we should expect *exercitum ducere coepit*. The book ends with a confusion of grammar as well as of history.

TITI LIVI

AB VRBE CONDITA

LIBER XXII.

- 1 **Iam** ver adpetebat; itaque Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequiquam ante conatus transcendere Appenninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum ingenti periculo
 2 moratus ac metu. Galli, quos praedae populationumque conciverat spes, postquam, pro eo ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis viderent, ver
 3 terunt retro in Hannibalem ab Romanis odia; petitusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate qua consenserant consensum indicantium, ser-

HANNIBAL STARTS FOR ETRURIA.
 PRODIGES AT ROME.

1. **Iam . . . itaque:** cf. 19. 11. — **ver:** as opposed to *prima ac dubia signa veris*, XXI. 58. 2. But Livy probably took this part from another source which did not mention either the earlier attempt or the wintering in the Ligurian country; in that case the clause **nequiquam**, etc., may be one of our author's favorite additions to conceal the joints. — **movit:** see XXI. 32. 1 n. — **et . . . et,** on the one hand . . . and on the other; as often in Latin, the co-ordinate propositions are opposed with some more intimate relation implied. — **cum ingenti periculo:** the

choice and position of the adjective and the insertion of the preposition give great emphasis to the phrase.

2. **Galli, etc.:** explaining the preceding statement. — **pro eo ut, instead of;** the expression occurs only here. — **viderent:** the subjunctive with *postquam*, after the analogy of *cum*, is so extremely rare that most editors read *videre*; but see Gr. 324 b; Kühner, *Lat. Gr.* 208; Hale, *Cum-constructions*, p. 246.

3. **petitus:** sc. Hannibal. Livy is less careful than earlier writers about changing the subject suddenly. — **servatus erat:** the pluperfect in reference to the point of time assumed above, the moment of de-

vatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem nunc tegumenta capitis errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. Ceterum 4 hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hi- bernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romae idibus Martiis magistratum iniit. Ibi cum de re publica rettu- 5 lisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium invidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi iustum imperium, quod auspicium esse? Magistratus id a 6 domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncu-

parture. — *nunc . . . nunc*: first found in Lucretius (II. 131), and in prose in Livy. — *tegumenta capitis*, *wigs*, according to Polybius III. 78. — *errore*: *i.e.* by creating uncertainty about his person. Such confounding of subjective and objective phases of an idea are common in Latin. One man's uncertainty is the other's deceit.

4. *ceterum*: *i.e.* he had succeeded in escaping, but still his fear was a factor in his determination to move. — *hic*: *i.e.* *harum insidiarum*; cf. *is* favor, XXI. 46. 7 n. — *idibus Martibus*: at this time the beginning of the political year, though by the confusion in the calendar it came about two months too early.

5. *ibi cum*, etc.: at the first meeting of the senate according to the regular order of business; cf. 9. 7, where, however, the first *relatio*, namely *de religione*, is mentioned. Probably here both questions were so closely bound together that it made no difference which came first. — *iustum*, *regular*: in that he had withdrawn without the due formalities, the *lex curiata de imperio* and the others mentioned in the following. — *redintegrata*,

etc.: see XXI. 63. 6. — *auspicium*: the immediate communication with the gods expressed in the auspices, which passed from one representative of the *populus Romanus* to another, but only, as in all Roman affairs, through the regular ceremonies therefor provided. — *esse*: the usual infinitive in rhetorical questions, depending, like the other infinitives, on the idea of saying or thinking implied in *invidia*.

6. *magistratus*: *i.e.* only magistrates duly inducted. — *id*: *sc. auspicium*; the main thing without which there could be no *iustum imperium*, in the religious sense. — *a domo*: inasmuch as all the proceedings mentioned must be performed at Rome, and could not be done abroad, and at the same time were necessary conditions to the possession of the auspices. — *publicis*: just as each house had its household gods, so the great household, the state, had divinities of the same sort. — *privatis*: certain ceremonies were performed by the consul in his own house before proceeding in his robes of state to enter upon his office. — *Latinis feriis*: see XXI. 63. 5 n. — *votis*: the first rite of the consul was to proceed from his

7 patis secum ferre; nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine
 auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo nova atque integra
 8 concipere posse. Augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus
 simul locis nuntiata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula,
 in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti vigilias equiti
 scipionem, quem manu tenuerat, arsisse, et litora crebris
 9 ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo sanguine sudasse, et mili-
 tes quosdam ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem minui visum,
 et Praeneste ardentem lapides caelo cecidisse, et Arpis
 10 parmas in caelo visas pugnantesque cum luna solem, et
 Capenae duas interdu lunas ortas, et aquas Caeretes
 sanguine mixtas fluxisse fontemque ipsum Herculis cru-
 entis manasse respersum maculis, et Antii metentibus
 11 cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse, et Faleriis caelum
 findi velut magno hiatu visum quaque patuerit ingens
 lumen effulsisse, sortes sua sponte adtenuatas unamque
 excidisse ita scriptam 'Mavors telum suum concutit,'
 12 et per idem tempus Romae signum Martis Appia via ac
 simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuae speciem caeli

house (*privatis penetibus*) to the Capitol and there offer a sacrifice to Jupiter. — *ferre*: opposed to *sequi*.

7. *privatum*: opposed to *magistratus*. — *sine auspiciis*, etc.: *i.e.* without the sacred rites that established the mystic relation between the commander and the gods. The whole religious system of the Romans is full of these ritualistic ideas, and is the chief source and model of all later ritualism. — *in externo*, etc.: *i.e.* the place, as well as the forms of the rites, was all-important, an idea consonant with the whole ritualistic conception. — *nova atque integra*, *ancw from the beginning*; independently of all the history of the city from its foundation by auspices (*augurato*). —

concipere: a technical expression including all the preliminary proceedings of augural consecration and the like.

8. *augebant*, etc.: here Livy, as often, makes the connection with what is implied rather than with what is said. The religious alarm is implied in the hostile speeches made in the senate, though only the *invidia* is expressly mentioned. The whole account, without going into details, shows the character of the early Roman religion; cf. notes on XXI. 62.

11. *sortes*: see XXI. 62. 5 n. — *sua sponte*: *i.e.* without any apparent cause.

12. *via*: Livy uses the ablative of 'place where' without a preposition more freely than the earlier

ardentis fuisse lunaeque inter imbrem cadentis. Inde 13 minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in mare, gallum in feminam sese vertisse. His, sicut erant nuntiata, 14 expositis auctoribusque in curiam introductis consul de religione patres consuluit. Decretum, ut ea prodigia 15 partim maioribus hostiis partim lactentibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia pulvinaria haberetur; cetera, cum decemviri libros inspexissent, 16 ut ita fierent quem ad modum cordi esse divis e carminibus praefarentur. Decemvirorum monitu decretum est, 17 Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, et Iunoni Minervaeque ex argento dona darentur, et Iunoni Reginae in Aventino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuvii maioribus hostiis sacrificaretur, matronaeque pecunia 18 conlata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Iunoni Reginae in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque fieret, et ut libertinae et ipsae, unde Feroniae donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent. Haec ubi facta, decemviri Ardeae in foro maiori- 19 bus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri iam mense

prose writers; cf. *montibus*, 4. 6; *campis*, 43. 10; *tumulis*, XXI. 32. 13.

13. *minoribus*, etc.: see XXI. 62 with notes. — *lanatas*: instead of the natural hair (*pili*).

14. *auctoribus*, *witnesses*; the authority for the occurrence. — *de religione*: cf. 5 n.

15. *maioribus*, *supplicatio*: see notes on XXI. 62. 7 and 9.

16. *decemviri libros*, etc.: see XXI. 62. 6 n. — *carminibus*: sc. of the *libri Sibyllini*. Little is known of the source and character of the contents of these books, but they seem to have been written in Greek hexameters.

17. *pondo*: see XXI. 62. 8 n. — *Iunoni Minervaeque*: these two goddesses were combined with Jove in the Capitoline cult.

18. *pecunia*: such voluntary contributions (*stipes*) were not uncommon in the Roman worship. Pieces of money were even offered to the divinities of rivers and springs by being thrown into the water, and considerable deposits of such offerings have been found intact. — *et ipsae*, also; i.e. they as well as the matrons. — *unde = ex qua* (sc. *pecunia*); see XXI. 10. 9 n. — *Feroniae*: see I. 30. 5 n.

19. *iam*: i.e. in treating the re-

ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est, lectisternium-
que imperatum — et eum lectum senatores straverunt —
20 et convivium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac
noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere
ac servare in perpetuum iussus.

2 Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque dilectu
dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam
Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse fama erat,
2 cum aliud longius, ceterum commodius ostenderetur
iter, propiorem viam per paludes petit, qua fluvius Arnus
3 per eos dies solito magis inundaverat. Hispanos et
Afros et omne veterani robor exercitus admixtis ipsorum
impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad
usus deessent, primos ire iussit, sequi Gallos, ut id agmi-

ligious observances all together, Livy comes finally to the last month in the year (217 B.C.) in which, as the time of the Saturnalia, a special offering was made to Saturn. — **lectisternium**: usually only to Greek divinities, but here to those of Rome by some identification of native and foreign deities. — **straverunt**: *i.e.* at their own expense. — **convivium**: *i.e.* a general feast like a barbecue, in which all the people joined.

20. **Saturnalia**: not now established for the first time, but probably enlarged and made more binding. — **clamata**: the whole people, slaves and all, ran about crying, **IO SATURNALIA**; cf. Macrobius, I. 10. 18 *quo solo die* (*i.e.* Dec. 19) *apud aedem Saturni convivio dissoluto Saturnalia clamitabantur*.

HANNIBAL IN THE MARSHES OF THE ARNO.

2. **dilectu**: dative; cf. *exercitu*, II. 5. — **profectus**, etc.: the same event as in I. 1, but resumed after

the digression about the omens. — **Arretium**: see XXI. 15. 6.

2. **longius**, etc.: some route farther down the valley of the Po, as by Mutina or Bononia. — **propiorem**, etc.: what route is uncertain. There are several gaps in the Apennines by which Hannibal might have gone, but he seems to have come out of the marshes at Fae-sulae. The movement was apparently a surprise to the Romans, who expected him to follow them up as he had done before. His object was perhaps to rouse a rebellion of the various nations of Italy and only to fight under circumstances where he could gain the prestige of victory. — **solito**: this ablative after a comparative first appears in prose in Livy; cf. 14. 2; it is frequent in Ovid.

3. **et omne**, and in fact the whole; **robor** includes **Hispanos et Afros**. — **admixtis**, etc.: not, as was often the case, with the whole baggage train in the rear. — **coactis**: *i.e.* in case they were, etc. — **agminis medium**: see XXI. 33. 7 n. —

nis medium esset, novissimos ire equites, Magonem 4 inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si taedio laboris longaeque viae, ut est mollis ad talia gens, dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, 5 qua modo praeirent duces, per praealtas fluvii ac profundas voragines hausti paene limo immergentesque se tamen signa sequebantur. Galli neque sustinere se pro lapsi neque adsurgere ex voraginibus poterant neque aut corpora animis aut animos spe sustinebant, alii fessa 7 aegre trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel victis taedio animis procubuissent, inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim morientes; maximeque omnium vigiliae conficiebant per quadriduum iam et tres noctes toleratae. Cum omnia 8 obtinentibus aquis nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aqua sarcinis insuper incumbabant aut iumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim acervi tantum quod exstaret aqua

equites, *i.e.* apparently his heavy cavalry, as opposed to the light (expeditis Numidis).

4. *mollis*: *i.e.* without endurance, easily discouraged under difficulties; cf. XXI. 25. 6. — *talìa*: referring to the implied difficulties of the march. — *dilaberentur*: *i.e.* slip away and desert. — *subsisterent*: *i.e.* refuse in a body to go on. — *cohibentem*: a conative present equivalent to a future, and hence naturally having the protasis *si dilaberentur*, etc.; cf. *orantes*, XXI. 6. 2 n.

5. *primi*: *i.e.* the veterans. — *qua modo*, etc.: *i.e.* anywhere, provided only their leaders would go ahead, hence the subjunctive *praeirent*. — *hausti*, etc.: the two expressions seem pleonastic, but the first may express the first plunge, and the second the later progress in wallowing through. In a pic-

turesque writer like Livy the vivid effect is often produced by dwelling on one thing in several of its aspects.

6. *sustinere*, etc.: *i.e.* keep themselves from falling when they once slipped; cf. XXI. 35. 12. — *adsurgere*: *i.e.* find a firmer footing by getting out of a hole.

7. *aegre*, etc.: *i.e.* dragging along without energy or spirit, as opposed to those who gave up entirely. — *procubuissent*: iterative subjunctive; see XXI. 4. 4 n. — *conficiebant*, *exhausted them*; cf. 'done up.'

9. *sarcinis*, *individual luggage*; *i.e.* the arms, tools, clothing, food, cooking utensils, etc., which were made up into bundles, attached to poles ('*mulæ Mariani*'), and carried on the shoulders. The collective baggage (*impedimenta*), tents, engines of war, etc., was carried on pack-animals and in wagons. — *tan-*

quaerentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium
 10 cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal, aeger oculis ex verna
 primum intemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto,
 qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua exstaret, vectus,
 11 vigiliis tamen et nocturno umore palustrique caelo gra-
 vante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat,
 altero oculo capitur.

- 8 Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis cum tan-
 dem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit,
 castra locat, certumque per praemissos exploratores
 habuit exercitum Romanum circa Arreti moenia esse.
 2 Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum
 itineraque et copias ad commeatus expediendos et cetera,
 quae cognosse in rem erat, summa omnia cum cura in-
 3 quirendo exsequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italiae
 fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque
 iacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copia rerum

tum quod exstaret aqua, *merely an elevation above the water; i.e. not expecting any place fit to lie down in, but merely to be out of water.*

10. *primum*: the *deinde* is wanting, but would belong with *elephanto*, etc. It is crowded out by the *tamen*. — *variante*, *changing from . . . to*. — *unus*: cf. XXI. 58. 11 n.

11. *tamen*: *i.e.* though he rode high up on an elephant, yet he could not escape the effect of the malarial atmosphere (*caelo*) of the marsh air. — *gravante*, *affecting*; properly, making (it) worse. — *altero*, *one* (of two), as often; cf. *Nepos, Hann.* 4 *adeo gravi morbo adficitur oculorum ut postea nunquam dextro aequae bene usus sit*; *Juv.* 10. 157 *o qualis facies et quali digna tabella, cum Gaetula ducem portaret belua luscum*. —

capitur: cf. *capti auribus et oculis*, XXI. 58. 5; *captus omnibus membris*, II. 36. 8.

THE POSITION OF THE TWO ARMIES.

8. 2. *consilia . . . exsequebatur*: an admirable illustration of Hannibal's habit and an explanation of his great successes. — *atque, et, -que, et*: for the arbitrary use of the conjunctions, cf. XXI. 16. 2 n. — *animum*, *disposition*; *i.e.* how he was likely to act, as opposed to his definite plans (*consilia*). — *copias*: *i.e.* the resources for provisioning his army. — *inquirendo exsequebatur*: a little stronger than *inquirebat* alone.

3. *regio*, etc.: giving in irregular order the details which Hannibal discovered. — *et omnium rerum*: see 2. 3 n.

opulenti; consul ferox ab consulatu priore et non modo 4
 legum aut patrum maiestatis sed ne deorum quidem satis
 metuens. Hanc insitam ingenio eius temeritatem for-
 tuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat.
 Itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem 5
 ferociter omnia ac praepropere acturum; quoque pronior
 esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque inritare Poenus
 parat, et laeva relicto hoste Faesulas petens, medio 6
 Etruriae agro praedatum profectus, quantam maximam
 vastitatem potest caedibus incendiisque consuli procul
 ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse 7
 quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante
 oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus
 ratus, per mediam iam Italiam vagari Poenum atque
 obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana moenia ire oppugnanda,
 ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa 8
 suadentibus, collegam exspectandum, ut coniunctis exer-

4. *ferox*, etc.: cf. XXI. 63. 2 *et seq.* The word expresses both confidence and aggressiveness. — *ab*: with the common idea of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. — *non modo . . . sed ne . . . quidem*: if these words have a common predicate, placed in the second clause, the negation in *ne . . . quidem* belongs to the first clause as well, and thus *non modo* means *not only not*. — *legum*: as passed by the people. — *patrum*: *i.e.* the *auctoritas* of the senate as distinguished from absolute laws. — *insitam*: *i.e.* natural to him in any case, even without his previous success. — *civilibus*: his various political measures, such as the assignment of the Gallic territory, and his famous Flaminian Road and Circus. — *bellicis*: his victory over the Insubrians in 223 B.C. — *rebus*: ablative of respect.

5. *satis apparebat*, *it was pretty*

clear. — *agitare, bait*; referring, like the English word, to the hunting of animals.

6. *Faesulas petens*: this can hardly be correct, as Arretium would not be on Hannibal's left. He must have gone southerly to the west of Arretium.

7. *quieturus erat*, *would have*, etc., the protasis being contained in *quieto hoste*. — *vero*: like 'you may be sure,' indicating the determining circumstance. — *iam*: *i.e.* he had got so far as that, when he ought to have been stopped in the beginning.

8. *ceteris omnibus*: emphatically opposed to Flaminius; Polybius (III. 82) says *τηνὸν ολομέλειον*. A council of war is indicated in which the higher officers joined, though of course the commander had the right to disregard their opinions. — *collegam . . . cohi-*

- 9 citibus communi animo consilioque rem gererent, interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum, iratus se ex consilio proripuit signumque simul itineris pugnaeque cum pro-
- 10 posuisset, 'Immo Arreti ante moenia sedeamus' inquit; 'hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italiam vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana moenia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Veis, C.
- 11 Flaminium ab Arretio patres acciverint.' Haec simul increpans cum ocus signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente corruit consulemque
- 12 lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus qui circa erant velut foedo omine incipiendae rei insuper nuntiatur signum omni vi moliente signifero convelli nequire.
- 13 Conversus ad nuntium 'Num litteras quoque' inquit 'ab senatu adfers, quae me rem gerere vetent?' abi, nuntia,

bendum: in apposition with **salutaria**. — **communi animo**: here referring to the union of ultimate aims as opposed to the immediate measures adopted (**consilio**).

9. **effusa**: one would expect *effuse* with **praedandi**, but the noun and gerund are conceived as one idea and so may be modified by an adjective. — **signum**: the signal for march was given by a trumpet, while that for battle, which could of course be given at the same time, was given by a red flag (*vexillum*) at headquarters. — **proposuisset**: Heerwagen's conjecture for filling the gap in the most ancient text; late MSS. have *dedisset*.

10. **immo**, *oh no*; a sarcastic and ironical contradiction to his own advice and determination. — **moverimus**: the perfect subjunctive in prohibitions is unusual except with

the second person. — **olim**: during the siege of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B.C.

11. **increpans**, *storming*; with the idea of reproach and abuse. — **signa convelli**: the final order for march. — **equus**, etc.: Coelius (Cic. *de Div.* I. 35. 77) locates this before the statue of Jupiter Stator. Such omens were considered most serious by the ancients. Of course in this case as in many others partisan hatred has magnified or even created the supposed events.

12. **circa**: see XXI. 7. 5 n. — **signum . . . nequire**: this was the most terrible omen of all.

13. **litteras**: as in the former case (XXI. 63. 7 n.), as if this alone were wanting to complete the obstacles in his way. The whole is so well told that one doesn't care much whether it is fact or fiction. —

effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerint.' Incedere inde agmen coepit primoribus, ¹⁴ super quam quod dissenserant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in vulgus laeto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumenumque lacum omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum iniurias acuat. Et ² iam pervenerat ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior patescit campus; inde colles insurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris ³ modo Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteramque

effodiant, etc.: such contempt of the superstitions of the times is occasionally found in Roman history, enough to show that the leaders did not care for them themselves, but followed them on account of the common people; cf. Claudius' chickens in the first Punic war. The construction is the indirect discourse of command.

14. consilio: *i.e.* the one now to be carried out. — **in vulgus**, *in general*, as opposed to **primoribus**.

THE BATTLE OF LAKE TRASIMENUS.

4. Trasumenum lacum: now Lago di Perugia, at the south end of the same valley in which, at its northern end, lies Arretium. — **pervastat**: this account can only be loosely given, for Cortona is some distance south of Arretium, and the valley is rather narrow there. The ravages must have been farther north and east. The movement was evidently to march by Flaminius' left flank and cut him off from Rome, or at least to give the appear-

ance of marching on the city, and so bring on a battle under favorable circumstances.

2. loca, etc.: evidently near the northeast corner of the lake. — **ubi maxime**, *just where*; cf. *tum maxime*. — **subit**, *comes close to*. — **via**, etc.: *i.e.* only space for a road and very narrow at that. The emphasis is on **via**, and a new idea is added in **perangusta**. — **ad id ipsum**: *i.e.* to pass by. — **deinde**: the local sense is very rare; cf. 45. 6 and *dein*, XXI. 55. 2. — **inde**: *i.e.* from the plain again. Polybius (III. 83) and Livy do not agree in their topography of the battle-field. From Borghetto, near the northwestern corner of the lake, a defile skirts the water, extending east and southeast to La Torricella. This space is about nine miles long and at no point more than a mile and a half wide. At Passignano a bold headland divides the defile into two parts, either of which satisfies Livy's description, and in one of them the massacre probably took place.

levem armaturam post montis circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus tumulis apte tegentibus locat ut, ubi intrassent Romani, obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

- 4 Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa luce angustiiis superatis, postquam in patientiorem campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium quod ex adverso erat conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput haud detectae
5 insidiae. Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusus suis copiis habuit hostem, 6 signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi, qua cuique proximum fuit, decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat, agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus ipsa inter se satis conspecta
7 eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.
- 5 Consul percussis omnibus ipse satis, ut in re trepida,

3. *post montis*: *i.e.* on the flank behind some low hills, out of sight. — *fauces*, the mouth or entrance.

4. *pridie*, etc.: of course they encamped as usual at night. They probably halted in the first plain, and the battle was fought in the second near the road to Perugia. — *pandi*, *deploy*; the passive form has the middle force, or *coepit* would be *coeptum est*, in accordance with Livy's usage; cf. *senatus consuli coepit*, II. 29. 6 n. — *ex adverso*: *i.e.* the camp of Hannibal (*in aperto*, 3). — *haud detectae*: Stroth's conject-

ure for the impossible *deceptae* of the MSS.

6. *pariter*, in concert.

7. *satis cerneret*, could clearly distinguish anything; it was still dusk and misty. — *sensit*, became aware. — *instueretur . . . possent*: for the subjunctive, see Gr. 327.

VALOR OF THE ROMAN SOLDIERS.

5. *consul percussis*, etc.: *i.e.* amid the utter demoralization of his army Flaminius retained his own presence of mind. — *ut in re*, etc.: the common restrictive force of *ut*,

impavidus turbatos ordines vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur, et, quacumque adire audiriue potest, adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis aut imploratione 2 deum sed vi ac virtute evadendum esse; per medias acies ferro viam fieri et, quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse. Ceterum prae strepitu ac tu- 3 multu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat, tantumque aberat ut sua signa atque ordines et locum noscerent, ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret animus, opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis iis quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine maior usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus vulnerum 4 ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos strepentium paventiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globo illati haerebant, alios 5

'considering,' or 'in view of,' 'so far as was possible,' or the like; cf. XXI. 34. 1. — *vertente se quoque*, where every man turned (automatically, without any definite purpose), explaining *turbatos*.

2. *nec enim*: the best translation must take in English the direct discourse. The peculiar force of *nec enim* (for you see, etc.) is connected with an expression like *state*, *militēs*, etc., with its implied 'and you must if you expect to escape,' etc. — *vi ac virtute*: cf. *vis virtusque*, XXI. 41. 17.

3. *consilium*: referring to *adhortatur* (1) and the wise plan indicated in *per medias*, etc. (2). — *imperium*: with reference to *iubet* (1). — *tantum . . . ut . . . ut*: see Gr. 332. d. — *signa*, etc.: a necessary condition for the restoration of order (*instruit*, 1). The first word refers to the maniple, the second to the century, the third to par-

ticular posts therein. — *ut vix*, etc.: i.e. they had hardly presence of mind enough to make an individual resistance. — *onerati*: because they had not spirit to use them. — *et erat*: i.e. and no wonder, for they had to act as individuals simply defending themselves against dangers indicated by the sound, and having no use of their eyes to direct them in concerted action.

4. *vulnerum*, of the wounded; cf. XXI. 29. 3. — *ictus*: i.e. the thud or clash of weapons as they struck. — *strepentium*: the assailants, shouting. — *paventium*: the attacked, as they uttered cries of terror. — *ora oculosque*: an alliteration found in very many writers.

5. *alii*, etc.: i.e. the soldiers were forced to act contrary to their disposition in both directions, some to fight who tried to fly, some to fly who wished to fight.

6 redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnis partis nequiquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudabant, apparuitque nullam nisi in dextera 7 ferroque salutis spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles 8 aut cohorte aut manipulo esset: fors conglobabat et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat; tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnis, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

6 Tris ferme horas pugnatum est, et ubique atrociter; circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. 2 Eum et robora virorum sequebantur et ipse, quacumque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat 3 opem; insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant

7. *principes*, etc.: at this time, and until 105 B.C., the *principes* stood behind the *hastati*. — *pro signis*: the standards were carried in front of the second line. — *cohorte*: another military anachronism, as the *cohors* was not the tactical unit till Marius, B.C. 105.

8. *ante aut post*, in front or rear, but with an allusion to the *antesignani* and *postsignani*. — *animorum*, *passions*. — *animus*, *desire*, the singular being more definite than the plural. — *motum terrae*: this earthquake is mentioned by other authors, e.g. Coelius (Cic.

Div. I. 35, 78); Plut. *Fabius*, 3; Plin. *N. H.* II. 84. 200. Ovid (*F.* VI. 765) puts the battle on the 23d of June, but as the calendar was much in advance of the true time, it was probably about the middle of April.

DEATH OF FLAMINIUS. CARNAGE OF THE ROMANS.

6. 2. *eum*: emphasized as if belonging to both clauses, but as the flow of the narrative is broken, *insignemque* is used to make a new start instead of the expected

duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea ex 3
vulneribus periire. Multiplex caedes utrimque facta
traditur ab aliis; ego, praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex 4
vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi,
Fabium, aequalem temporibus huiusce belli, potissimum
auctorem habui. Hannibal captivorum qui Latini nomi- 5
nis essent sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis,
segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora
suorum cum sepeliri iussisset, Flamini quoque cor-
pus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non
invenit.

Romae ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti 6
terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus.
Matronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades adlata 7
quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percunctantur. Et
cum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium et
curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo 8
ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor 'Pugna' inquit
'magna victi sumus.' Et quamquam nihil certius ex eo

participle; cf. *acceptus*, *contemptus*,
invictus.

3. *multiplex*: i.e. many times
greater.

4. *nihil*, etc.: i.e. generally under
any circumstances, and especially
in this case where there is a good
authority. — *scribentium*: cf. *scri-
bentibus*, XXI. 57. 14 n. — *Fa-
bium*: see Intr. 10. — *potissimum*,
rather than any other.

5. *captivorum*: genitive of the
whole with (*eis*) qui, etc. — *Latini
nominis*: see XXI. 55. 4 n. —
cum, and that too with; the prepo-
sition, as generally with a noun
and adjective, gives an additional
circumstance. — *inquisitum*, etc.,
sought but could not find. In the
Latin compression of sentences by
means of participles, the main idea,

as here (*inquisitum*), is often
forced into a subordinate form. For
other instances of this mark of
respect paid by Hannibal to his
foes, see 52. 6; XXV. 17; XXVII.
28.

CONSTERNATION IN ROME.

6. *ad nuntium*: not merely *at*,
which meaning the preposition often
approaches, but *to meet* or *to learn
the news*.

7. *contionis modo*: i.e. the
people assembled as if officially
called together. — *comitium*: the
smaller place of assembly separated
from the great Forum proper. —
curiam: adjoining the Comitium;
here the magistrates were in session
with the senate.

auditum est, tamen alius ab alio impleti rumoribus domos referunt consulem cum magna parte copiarum caesum, 9 superesse paucos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos 10 aut captos ab hoste. Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas distracti animi eorum erant, quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium quae cuiusque suorum fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis 11 certum habet quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas maior prope mulierum quam virorum multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens, circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes, neque avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam 12 ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneret, ut cuique laeta aut tristitia nuntiabantur, gratulantisque aut consolantis redeuntibus domos circumfusos. Feminarum praecipue et 13 gaudia insignia erant et luctus. Vnam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in complexu eius exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi ad primum conspectum redeuntis 14 filii gaudio nimio exanimatam. Senatum praetores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent consultantes quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Poenis posset.

10. *ignorantium*: the flexibility and expressiveness of the Latin present participle, in the hands of an artist like Livy, should be noticed through the second half of this chapter.

11. *ordine, in detail*. — *inquisissent*: though *antequam* and *priusquam* have, in general, the construction of *cum* in narration (Gr. 327), purpose and repetition are implied in this case; see Kühnast, *Livianische Syntax*,² p. 238.

12. *cerneret*: cf. *discerneret*, XXI. 4. 3 n. — *gaudia, luctus*: plural, because each case was a separate *gaudium*, etc. We make it more abstract and make one general expression do for the whole.

13. *complexu*: this word is in Valerius Maximus (IX. 12. 2), who evidently is quoting from this passage; the MSS. have *conspectu*. — *alteram*: Pliny (*N.H.* VII. 180) and Gellius (III. 15) connect this case with the battle of Cannae.

Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nun- 8
tiatur clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. Centenio
propraetore missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule, in
Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumennum auditam
averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Eius rei 2
fama varie homines adfecit : pars occupatis maiore aegri-
tudine animis levem ex comparatione priorum ducere
recentem equitum iacturam ; pars non id quod acciderat 3
per se aestimare, sed, ut in adfecto corpore quamvis levis
causa magis quam in valido gravior sentiretur, ita tum 4
aegrae et adfectae civitati quodcumque adversi incideret,
non rerum magnitudine sed viribus extenuatis, quae
nihil, quod adgravaret, pati possent, aestimandum esse.

Itaque ad remedium iam diu neque desideratum nec 5
adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit. Et
quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec
per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut

A NEW DISASTER. FABIUS AP-
POINTED DICTATOR.

8. *essent*: the subjunctive used as with *cum* to represent a situation, as if, 'while they were yet at a loss.' — *ab Servilio*: he had taken command of the forces at Ariminum, and at the news of Hannibal's advance had sent this cavalry to reinforce his colleague, intending to follow with his whole army. This cavalry had come too late and had crossed into Umbria to join the main body.

2. *pars*, etc.: the two points of view are that of persons immediately affected by the great calamity who thought little of this small one, and that of those who, being more philosophical, saw farther and estimated the calamity in its relation to the enfeebled state, to which even a slight reverse was serious.

The thought is easily followed, but for translation the sentence must be broken up.

3. *magis*: to be joined with *sentiretur*.

4. *tum*: representing a *nunc* of direct discourse.

5. *iam diu*: the last for actual service (*rei gerendae causa*) was A. Atilius Calatinus, B.C. 249. Fabius had been dictator to conduct the elections in 221 B.C. — *dictatorem dicendum*: in apposition with *remedium*; cf. *parendum* XXI. 4. 3 n., and see Gr. 301. R. — *quia*, etc.: the peculiar rigidity of the Roman polity, as well as the ways of correcting that rigidity are well illustrated here. Usually the consul named (*dicere*) the dictator for six months, and he in turn named the *magister equitum*. The necessity of the appointment was determined as an executive matter by the senate. The

- 6 nuntium aut litteras mitti [nec dictatorem populo creare poterat], quod numquam ante eam diem factum erat, dictatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum et
 7 magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum; iisque negotium ab senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis firment et praesidia disponerent, quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penatibus dimicandum esse quando Italiam tueri nequissent.
- 9 Hannibal recto itinere per Vmbriam usque ad Spoletium venit. Inde cum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniae haud prospere
 3 temptatae viribus quanta moles Romanae urbis esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem sed refertum praeda, quam
 4 effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita, refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via proelioque magis ad eventum secundo

essence of the office was that its incumbent was the sole and supreme head of the state, and was 'out of politics'; see 31. 8-10 and notes.

6. *nec . . . poterat*: as these words yield no satisfactory sense they have been variously emended or dropped altogether. If they are retained, *praetor* should probably be read for *populo*. — *quod . . . erat*: referring to what follows. — *Fabium*: see XXI. 18. 13 n.

7. *fluminum*: *i.e.* around the city, as the Tiber and the Anio.

HANNIBAL IN LOWER ITALY. RELIGIOUS PREPARATIONS AT ROME.

9. *Spoletium*: on the Flaminian Road, a colony since B.C. 241.

2. *repulsus*: Hannibal seems to

have had no material for siege, and in general no idea of using that mode of warfare. This probably accounts for his failure to attack Rome itself. — *unius*: not equivalent to an indefinite article, but emphatic, 'a single colony of Rome' as compared with the vast resources of the capital itself.

3. *in agrum*, etc.: Hannibal was marching through the subjected regions of Central Italy towards the later-acquired territory of the South. He was evidently trying to arouse a coalition of the subject nations against the great power, but with a want of success that is surprising. — *avertit iter*: with reference to *recto itinere* (1), the direct advance upon Rome by the Flaminian road.

4. *magis*, etc.: *i.e.* the great vic-

quam levi aut facili adfectus. Vbi satis quietis datum 5
 praeda ac populationibus magis quam otio aut requie
 gaudentibus, profectus Praetutianum Hadrianumque
 agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Paelignos devas-
 tat circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliae re-
 gionem. Cn. Servilius consul, levibus proeliis cum 6
 Gallis factis et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam
 de collegae exercitusque caede audivit, iam moenibus
 patriae metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo ad
 urbem iter intendit.

Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum quo die magistra- 7
 tum iniit vocato senatu, ab diis orsus, cum edocuisset
 patres plus neglegentia caerimoniarum auspiciorumque
 quam temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio
 consule esse, quaeque piacula irae deum essent ipsos deos
 consulendos esse, pervicit ut, quod non ferme decernitur, 8
 nisi cum taetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros
 Sibyllinos adire iuberentur. Qui inspectis fatalibus 9
 libris rettulerunt patribus, quod eius belli causa votum
 Marti foret, id non rite factum de integro atque amplius

tory of Trasimenus was valuable more for its results than favorable in regard to its cost and difficulty.

5. *profectus*: marching along the eastern slope of the Apennines. — *Hadrianum*: the town of Hadria is near the coast of the Adriatic, the next important point south of Ancona. — *Luceriam*: a very strong position, the key of Apulia.

6. *Servilius*: his force seems to have been useless through the whole campaign except so far as he may have overawed the Gauls.

7. *iterum*: see 8, 5; the Romans were so punctilious about distinctions that Livy records the fact that it was the second dictatorship of Fabius, although it has no impor-

tance for the narrative. — *ab diis orsus*: this was the regular order of business according to Varro (Gellius, XIV. 7. 9 *docet de rebus divinis prius quam humanis ad senatum referendum esse*); cf. I. 5 and notes. — *ipsos deos*: i.e. through the Sibylline books.

8. *prodigia*, etc.: as ordinarily the proper *piacula* were known. The Sibylline books were usually consulted only in the most extraordinary cases. — *decemviri*: see XXI. 62. 6 n.

9. *fatalibus*, of doom; the Sibylline books, as containing the fates impending and the means of averting them. — *quod . . . votum*: not mentioned in detail in XXI.

- 10 faciundum esse, et Iovi ludos magnos et aedes Veneri Erycinae ac Menti vovendas esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum, et ver sacrum vovendum, si bellatum prospere esset resque publica in eodem, quo
 11 ante bellum fuisset, statu permansisset. Senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Aemilium praetorem, ex collegi pontificum sententia omnia ea ut mature fiant curare iubet.
- 10 His senatus consultis perfectis L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus consulente collegium praetore omnium primum populum consulendum de vere sacro censet :
 2 iniussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in haec verba populus : ‘Velitis iubeatisne haec sic fieri ? si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut velim eam salvam, servata erit hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est quaeque duella cum Gallis sunt, qui cis Alpibus sunt, tum donum

62. 10, but no doubt made at that time.

10. *ludos magnos* : games promised (*votivi*) in connection with some extraordinary event, but often identified with the *ludi maximi*, or *Romani*, which were observed annually in September ; see I. 35. 7; Cic. *de Rep.* II. 20. 36; *de Div.* I. 26. 55. — *ver sacrum* : originally a vow to offer to the gods whatever should be born in the following March and April, in case the threatened calamity should be averted. Later, instead of the human sacrifice, children born in those months were, on reaching maturity, driven forth blindfolded to find a new home. To such emigrations several Italian communities traced their origin. — *esset* : for *erit* of the direct discourse.

11. *senatus* : as opposed to the *decemviri*. — *Fabium* : as the head

of the state these religious duties should rest on him, but in this case, on account of other occupations, he was excused by the senate, and the praetor urbanus (33. 8) ordered to take charge. — *ex collegi*, etc. : *i.e.* that for the religious details the pontifices should be consulted.

THE RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

10. *pontifex* : as spokesman for the college.

2. *velitis*, etc. : the usual form of a *rogatio*. — *ad quinquennium* : cf. *in decem annos*, XXI. 62. 10 n. — *servata erit* : the MSS. have *servaverit*, but the old form *servassit* would be expected, and the omission of the subject (*sc. Iuppiter* from Iovi in 3) is extremely awkward. — *quod duellum*, etc. : as all such vows were regarded as contracts with the divinity, the utmost

duit populus Romanus Quiritium, quod ver attulerit ex 3
 suillo ovillo caprino bovillo grege quaeque profana erunt,
 Iovi fieri, ex qua die senatus populusque iusserit. Qui 4
 faciet, quando volet quaque lege volet, facito; quo modo
 faxit, probe factum esto. Si id moritur, quod fieri oportet 5
 bit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto. Si quis rumpet
 occidetve insciens, ne fraus esto. Si quis clepsit, ne
 populo scelus esto neve cui cleptum erit. Si atro die 6
 faxit insciens, probe factum esto. Si nocte sive luce, si
 servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto. Si antidea
 quam senatus populusque iusserit fieri, faxitur, eo popu-
 lus solutus liber esto.' Eiusdem rei causa ludi magni 7
 voti aeris trecentis triginta tribus milibus trecentis tri-
 ginta tribus triente, praeterea bubus Iovi trecentis, multis
 aliis divis bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite 8
 nuncupatis supplicatio edicta; supplicatumque iere cum
 coniugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed
 agrestium etiam quos in aliqua sua fortuna publica quo-

exactness was necessary. *duellum* is the archaic form of *bellum*, from *duo*; cf. *bis*, also from *duo*. — *duit*: the subjunctive of indirect command, depending on *velitis*, etc.

3. *profana*: *i.e.* not already consecrated. The plural is on account of the plural idea implied in the different kinds of animals mentioned. — *fieri*: loosely depending on *iubeatis*. The construction is characteristic of old formulae. The word has a peculiar religious sense, like *sacrificari*, throughout the passage. — *ex qua die*, etc.: the vow was not fulfilled until 195 B.C. (XXXIII. 44).

4. *faxit*: archaic future perfect; so *clepsit*, 5.

5. *moritur*: the old and colloquial use of present for future. — *profanum*: *i.e.* in that case the

owner and the people shall be free from obligation. The loss shall fall on the divinity. — *rumpet, injure*: a technical word. — *clepsit*: in this case the owner would be unable to perform the rite, and both he and the people should be free. — *cui*: *dativus incommodi*.

6. *atro die*: *i.e.* on an inauspicious day, when sacrifices were forbidden. There were many such in the Roman calendar, as the days after the Kalends, Nones, and Ides, and the anniversaries of great national disasters. — *faxitur*: *i.e. factum erit*, an old passive of *faxit*.

7. *aeris*: (*i.e. assium*) limiting *milibus*. — *triente*: the three words before this were supplied by Scaliger from Plutarch, *Fabius*, 4.

8. *in aliqua sua*, etc.: *i.e.* not being without a stake in the country

- 9 que contingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per triduum habitum decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt: Iovi ac Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Vulcano ac Vestae, 10 sextum Mercurio et Cereri. Tum aedes votae. Veneri Erucinae aedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is voveret cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset; Menti aedem T. Otacilius praetor vovit.
- 11 Ita rebus divinis peractis tum de bello deque re publica dictator rettulit, quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti 2 obviam eundum esse patres censerent. Decretum ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet praeterea ex civibus sociisque quantum equitum ac peditum videretur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque ut e re publica 3 duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adiecturum ad Servilianum exercitum dixit. Iis per magistrum equitum 4 scriptis Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit. Edictoquoque proposito ut, quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, ut ii commigrarent in loca tuta, ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis eius qua iturus Hannibal esset,

they participated in the anxiety for its safety.

9. in conspectu: set in public, for the *lectisternium*. — Iovi ac Iunoni: as the supreme rulers; Neptuno ac Minervae: associated according to Greek ritual, as Poseidon and Athena, and representing commerce (on the sea) and the arts; Marti ac Veneri: also a Greek combination, the exact significance of which here is not obvious, except that Mars would stand for success in war; Apollini ac Dianae: standing for health; Vulcano ac Vestae: representing fire

and the hearth; Mercurio et Cereri: for trade and agriculture. The whole list embraces the twelve great gods of Olympus.

10. vovit: the temples were consecrated in B.C. 215 (XXIII. 31).

MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

11. 2. scriberet, enroll; conscribere (8) is more usual. — e re publica, for the interest of, etc.; cf. *in rem*.

3. Tibur: accusative of the end of motion after *conveniendum*.

4. ut . . . ut: repeated for the sake of clearness; cf. *ut . . . ne*,

tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cuius rei 5 copia esset, ipse via Flaminia profectus obviam consuli exercituque, cum ad Tiberim circa Ocriculum prospexisset agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredientem, viatorem misit qui consuli nuntiaret ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui cum dicto paruisset congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturae apud cives sociosque, vetustate iam prope oblitos eius imperii, fecisset, litterae ab urbe allatae sunt, naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum Cosanum captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci 7 iussus navibusque, quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae essent, completis milite ac navalibus sociis persequi hostium classem ac litora Italiae tutari. Magna vis 8 hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini etiam, quibus liberi essent et aetas militaris, in verba iuraverant. Ex 9 hoc urbano exercitu qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant in navis impositi, alii ut urbi praesiderent relict.

Dictator exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco 12 legato per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem ad conveni-

XXI. 49. 7 n. and Cic. *Att.* III. 5 *te oro ut, quoniam me ipsum semper amasti, ut eodem amore sis.*

5. *exercitu*: dative; cf. *dilectu*, 2.1.

6. *vetustate*, etc.: see 8. 5 n. — *Cosanum*: of Cosa, on the coast of Etruria.

7. *navalibus sociis*: see XXI. 49. 7 n.

8. *liberi essent*: because these at least were *ingenui* and so gave a reflex respectability to their fathers. — *aetas militaris*: usually from the 17th to the 46th year. — *in verba iuraverant*, *had enlisted*. At the completion of a levy and at the beginning of a new campaign, or change of command,

the consul or a military tribune dictated the oath of allegiance. A single soldier was chosen to repeat the words of the oath, the others individually saying, *idem in me*; see 38. 1-5 and cf. 53. 12.

9. *urbano*, etc.: this was evidently a separate voluntary enlistment apart from the two legions raised for Fabius' army. — *alii*: often used by Livy in the sense of *ceteri*.

FABIUS DEVELOPS A DEFENSIVE POLICY.

12. *legato*: he was left in command by the consul when departing for Ostia.

2 endum edixerat novis militibus, venit. Inde Praeneste ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus, unde itineribus summa cum cura exploratis ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, 3 fortunae se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta quin Poenus educeret in aciem copiamque pugnandi 4 faceret. Sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos tandem illos Martios animos Romanis debellatumque et concessum propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in castra rediit; 5 ceterum tacita cura animum incessit quod cum duce haudquaquam Flamini Sempronique simili futura sibi res esset ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quaesissent. Et prudentiam quidem novi dictatoris extemplo timuit; constantiam haudum expertus agitare ac temptare animum movendo crebro castra populandoque in oculis eius agros sociorum coepit; 7 et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repente in aliquo flexu viae, si excipere degressum in 8 aequum posset, occultus subsistebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat modico ab hoste intervallo, ut

2. exploratis: cf. *inexplorato*, 4. 4. — ducit: sc. *exercitum*; cf. *educeret*, 3, and *movit*, XXI. 32. 1 n. — commissurus: cf. *futuro*, XXI. 4. 10 n.

3. quo primum die, *on the very day when he first*.

4. increpans quidem: opposed to *cura incessit* in 5; i.e. though he blustered in this way, yet he was alarmed at the change of tactics. — illos: Haupt's suggestion for the impossible *quos* of the MSS. — Martios: a sarcastic allusion to the asserted origin of the Romans; cf. *vobis, Martiis viris*, XXXVIII. 17.

5. cura, etc.: cf. Silius Ital. VII. 305 *Fabius me noctibus aegris, in curas Fabius nos excitat*. — tum demum, *now at last*.

6. prudentiam quidem: opposed to *constantiam* with a concessive force, *to be sure*, etc. — novi: the MSS. have *non vim*. — constantiam, *the steadfast character*, which enabled him to restrain himself under provocation. Hence Hannibal continued his old tactics. — haudum: found only in Livy.

7. si posset, *to see if he could*; see Gr. 334. f.

neque omitteret eum neque congregaretur. Castris, nisi quantum usus necessarii cogere, tenebatur miles; pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim; equitum 9 levisque armaturae statio composita instructaque in subitos tumultus et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus praebebat; neque universo 10 periculo summa rerum committebatur et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum finitimoque receptu adsuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus iam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunae paenitere suae. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis 11 consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud quam quod impar erat imperio morae ad rem publicam praecipitandam habebat. Ferox rapidusque con- 12 siliis ac lingua immodicus primo inter paucos, dein propalam in vulgus pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, adfingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat,

8. *usus*: such as fodder and the like. — *cogere*: iterative subjunctive; see XXI. 8. 11 n.

10. *universo periculo*, to a general engagement. — *et*, and yet at the same time; a force given by the use of the co-ordinate *neque* in the preceding. — *parva momenta*, the gradual influence; each *momentum* represents an experiment with its own influence, while the adjective indicates that the effect was slight in each case; cf. *perlevi momento*, XXI. 43. 11. — *receptu*: i.e. the camp. — *iam*: indicating the gradual working of the new policy; *tandem*: the ultimate result. — *paenitere*, to be dissatisfied.

11. *Hannibalem*, in Hannibal. — *magis infestum*, a greater enemy. — *qui*, etc., who had nothing to hinder him from, etc. — *impar*: the consuls were of equal power, and

each had essentially full control of his own army, while the *imperium* of the *magister equitum* was subordinate to that of the dictator. — *morae*: to be joined with nihil; cf. *id morae*, XXI. 45. 9.

12. *ferox*: almost equal to *rash*; i.e. confident and violent, eager for active operations. — *ferox* . . . *immodicus*: chiasmic. — *inter paucos*: i.e. he began his murmurs privately, and being encouraged thus he spread them abroad. — *pro cunctatore*, etc.: i.e. Minucius, as is often done, distorted the virtues of Fabius into their kindred vices; cf. *Hor. Sat. I. 3. 55 at nos virtutes ipsas invertimus atque sincerum cupimus vas incrustare*, etc. *Cunctator* became an honorary title of Fabius, and Ennius' line *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem* is quoted by several Latin writers. —

premendoque superiorem, quae pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, sese extollebat.

- 13 Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit, iritat etiam de industria ducem Romanum, si forte accensum tot indignitatibus cladibusque sociorum detrahare ad aequum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasumennum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis iam tum inlecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. Hi nuntiantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuae potiendae copiam fore, cum res maior quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffidentem tamen, ut 4 Campaniam ex Samnio peteret, moverunt. Monitos etiam atque etiam promissa rebus adfirmarent, iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se 5 dimisit. Ipse imperat duci ut se in agrum Casinatem

premendo, *by decrying*; cf. 59. 10. — *quae pessima ars*, etc.: a general reflection of Livy in regard to his own times.

HANNIBAL IN SAMNIUM AND CAMPANIA.

13. *ex Hirpinis*: the Hirpini were in southern Samnium, but since the dissolution of the Samnite league after the conquest of the country by Rome, they are conceived of as an independent community; cf. 61. 11. — *Samnium*: here the territory of the Caudini. — *etiam*: *i.e.* in addition to the natural provocation of his march, he takes special pains to be as irritating as possible.

2. *dimissi*: see 7. 5. — *iam tum*: *i.e.* immediately after they

were released. — *popularium*, *of their countrymen*.

3. *hi nuntiantes*: they had either remained with Hannibal, or perhaps had joined him again from Capua. — *res maior*, etc.: *i.e.* it was too important a matter to believe on the authority of two unimportant persons. — *tamen*: opposed to the *cum*-clause modified by the description of Hannibal's state of mind.

4. *rebus*, *by action*, as well as by words. — *pluribus*, etc.: *i.e.* a more numerous delegation and some of the more influential citizens among them to make the matter more sure.

5. *ipse*: as opposed to their return to Capua. — *Casinatem*: Casinum was on the Latin Way in Latium, commanding the entrance

ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occu-
 passet, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis in-
 terclusurum. Sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latinorum 6
 nominum pronuntiatione os, Casilinum pro Casino dux
 ut acciperet fecit, aversusque ab suo itinere per
 Allifanum Caiatinumque et Calenum agrum in cam-
 pum Stellatem descendit. Vbi cum montibus flumi- 7
 nibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, vocatum
 ducem percunctatur ubi terrarum esset. Cum is 8
 Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum
 cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde alia
 regione esse; virgisque caeso duce et ad reliquorum 9
 terrorem in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Ma-
 harbalem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum praeda-
 tum dimisit. Vsque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio 10
 ea pervenit. Ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terro-
 remque latius Numidae fecerunt; nec tamen is terror, 11
 cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, vide-
 licet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec
 abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus
 parere.

into Campania some forty miles northwest of Capua, while Casilinum lay in the plain of Campania, on the Volturnus, only four or five miles from Capua.

6. *pronuntiatione os*: these words fill an evident gap in the MSS. — *suo itinere*, his proper road; namely, that along the upper valley of the Volturnus through Allifae to Venafrum. It does not appear why Hannibal should wish to approach Capua by way of Casinum. He would thus block the Latin Way, but the Appian would still be open for the Romans. The incident is not in Polybius and has

an unreal look. — *campum Stellatem*: on the edge of the Campanian plain between Cales and Capua.

8. *mansurum, pass the night*; a frequent colloquial meaning; cf. *mansio*, and Fr. *maison*.

9. *in agrum*: i.e. along the Appian Way towards Mt. Massicus.

10. *Sinuessanas*: Sinuessa is on the coast at the foot of Mt. Massicus, the ridge that separates Latium from Campania, running from the sea back to the Apennines.

11. *videlicet, and naturally*.

- 14 Vt vero, postquam ad Vulturum flumen castra sunt posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae ager villaeque passim incendiis fumabant, per iuga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa; 2 quieverant enim per paucos dies, quia, cum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam 3 populationibus Campaniam crediderant. Vt vero in extrema iuga Massici montis ventum est, et hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessae tecta 4 urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, 'Spectatum huc' inquit Minucius 'ut ad rem fruendam oculis, sociorum caedes et incendia, venimus? Nec, si nullius alterius nos, ne civium quidem horum pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta 5 haec ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit, sed Poenus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia iam hoc progressus? Tantum, pro! degeneramus a patribus nostris, ut, praeterquam oram illi Punicas vagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum iam factam videamus. Qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando non homines tantum sed foedera et deos ciebamus, scandentem moenia Romanae coloniae Hannibalem lenti spectamus.

MINUCIUS FOMENTS DISCONTENT
AMONG THE ROMAN SOLDIERS.

14. *amoenissimus*, etc.: cf. Cic. Agr. II. 29. 80 *unum fundum pulcherrimum populi Romani*. — *per iuga*: Fabius was remaining up in the mountains and following the Carthaginian along without descending into the plains to give him battle. — *de integro*: cf. 12. 12.

2. *solito*: see 2. 2 n.

3. *ut vero*: referring to the

moment when it became plain from the fact that they did not descend that Fabius was avoiding battle.

4. *nullius alterius*, in the eyes of nobody else; see Gr. 203. c. n. — *colonos*, etc.: B.C. 297; see X. 21.

5. *hoc*: XXI. 43. 13 n.

6. *pro, alas!* a very rare use of this interjection without a case. — *illi*: alluding to the First Punic War. — *factam*, become the property.

7. *indignando*: notice in this chapter Livy's exceptional fondness

Fumus ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in oculos 8
 atque ora venit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium
 sociorum, saepius nostram quam deorum invocantium
 opem: nos hic pecorum modo per aestivos saltus devias-
 que callis exercitum ducimus conditi nubibus silvisque.
 Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius 9
 recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camil-
 lus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus adfectis quaesitus,
 Italiam ab Hannibale recipere parat, Gallorum Roma
 esset, quam vereor ne sic cunctantibus nobis Hannibali 10
 ac Poenis totiens servaverint maiores nostri. Sed vir 11
 ac vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate
 patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios allatum est, cum
 esset satis altum Ianiculum, ubi sedens prospectaret
 hostem, descendit in aequum atque illo ipso die media
 in urbe, quae nunc busta Gallica sunt, et postero die
 citra Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones. Quid? post 12
 multos annos cum ad Furculas Caudinas ab Samnite
 hoste sub iugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius
 Cursor iuga Samnii perlustrando an Luceriam premendo

for the ablative of the gerund; he sometimes uses it with the force of a present participle.

8. *saepius*, etc.: the natural resource in trouble was an appeal to the gods, but here the allies called upon the Romans even oftener than upon the gods. — *pecorum*: these were driven to the mountains for pasture in the summer, and naturally in grazing would stray from the direct roads.

9. *nobis*: for the fusion of two ideas in a single construction (*by us* and *for us*), see *neutros*, etc., 17. 6 n., and *Hannibali*, XXI. 34. 9 n.

11. *dictatorem*, etc.: *i.e.* the news that, etc. — *esset satis altum*, etc.: *i.e.* if he had wanted to carry on war in this way, the Janiculum, to which he would first come from

Veii, would have answered the same purpose as Mt. Massicus answers for us; but instead of that he descended to the level ground and fought the enemy. — *busta Gallica*: so called because (V. 48. 3) the victims of a plague among the Gauls after their sack of Rome in 390 B.C. were there burned. Varro says (*L.L.* V. 157) that the bones of the Gauls were there collected.

12. *Furculas Caudinas*: in this defile, somewhere near Caudium, in 321 B.C., the Roman army, under the consuls Spurius Postumius and T. Veturius, was caught in ambush and literally subjugated by Gavius Pontius. The disgrace was avenged by Papirius Cursor two years later at Luceria, in northwestern Apulia.

- obsidendoque et lacessendo victorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus iugum superbo Samniti imposuit?
- 13 Modo C. Lutatio quae alia res quam celeritas victoriam dedit, quod postero die quam hostem vidit, classem gravem commeatibus, impeditam suomet ipsam instru-
- 14 mento atque adparatu, oppressit? Stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse: arma capias oportet et descendas in aequum et vir cum viro congrediari; audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus
- 15 consiliis, quae timidi cauta vocant.' Haec velut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia evolvebantur; ac si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant Minucium Fabio ducem praelaturos.
- 15 Fabius pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostis intentus prius ab illis invictum animum praestat. Quamquam probe scit non in castris modo suis sed iam etiam Romae infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum aestatis reliquum ex-

13. modo: *i.e.* in the former Punic War. — classem: at the Aegates; see Intr. 4.

14. votis: cf. 5. 2 and see chap.

10. — capias: with an indefinite subject, *one must*.

15. contionanti: cf. *contionabundus*, XXI. 53. 6 n. — si . . . esset: the construction is a kind of cross between a less vivid future in direct discourse (something like 'if we could decide we would prefer') and the contrary-to-fact construction ('if it were a matter, etc., they showed that they would have preferred'). The want of *fuisse* with *praelaturos* prevents our taking the second scheme, and the sense is against the first. But if we should take the first, the expression would be like the archaic and collo-

quial use of the present subjunctive in clauses virtually contrary to fact (cf. *si hic sis, aliter sentias*). — quoque: with *militum*; in prose, with very few exceptions, *quoque* follows the qualified word.

FIRMNESS AND SUCCESS OF FABIUS.

15. pariter, *equally*; qualifying *intentus* and further explained by the clause in *suos* . . . in *hostes*. — haud minus quam: tautologically used instead of a simple conjunction, apparently to increase the emphasis of in *suos*. — *animum*: here equivalent to *purpose*, although it is used also in reference to the enemy as well and means really *moral courage*. — *tenore, course*; ablative of manner with *extrahit*. — *aestatis reliquum*: see XXI. 33. 7 n.

traxit, ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti 2
 certaminis iam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea
 regio praesentis erat copiae, non perpetuae, arbusta
 vineaeque et consita omnia magis amoenis quam neces-
 sariis fructibus. Haec per exploratores relata Fabio.
 Cum satis sciret per easdem angustias quibus intraverat 3
 Falernum agrum rediturum, Calliculam montem et
 Casilinum occupat modicis praesidiis, quae urbs Vul- 4
 turno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro
 dividit; ipse iugis isdem exercitum reducit misso explo-
 ratum cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio
 Mancino. Qui ex turba iuvenum audientium saepe 5
 ferociter contionantem magistrum equitum progressus
 primo exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hos-
 tem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas prospexit ac
 per occasionem etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus 6
 certamine est animus excideruntque praecepta dictato-
 ris, qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum prius recipere
 sese iusserat quam in conspectum hostium veniret.
 Numidae alii atque alii occursantes refugientesque ad 7
 castra prope ipsa eum cum fatigue equorum atque
 hominum pertraxere. Inde Carthalo, penes quem summa 8
 equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus cum
 prius quam ad coniectum teli veniret avertisset hostis,

2. *spe*: with *certaminis*. — *circumspectaret*: the imperfect where we should expect the perfect (in a result clause) gives the idea 'began to look round for,' or the like. — *praesentis*, etc.: *i.e.* of supplies for immediate wants, but not for the future (the whole campaign). — *arbusta*, etc.: in predicate apposition with *regio*; the country was all orchards, etc. — *amoenis*, *agreeable*, as wine, fruit, and olives instead of grain.

3. *Calliculam*, etc.: the two passes thus occupied must have been the one by the Volturnus and one by way of Teanum.

5. *prospexit ac*: an addition to the text of the MSS.

6. *occupatus*: almost like English *possessed*, taken up to the exclusion of true views.

7. *ad castra*: with *pertraxere*.

8. *Carthalo*: see 49. 13; 58. 7. — *avertisset*: *sc. in fugam*, cf. 19. 11.

quinque ferme milia continenti cursu secutus est fugientis. Mancinus, postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proelium rediit omni parte virium impar. Itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso [rursus] cursu Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatorem perfugerunt.

11 Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum praesidio saltum, qui super Tarraquinam in artas coactus fauces imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa Poenus Appiae limite pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt, qua Hannibal ducturus erat. 16 Duo inde milia hostes aberant. Postero die Poeni, quod 2 viae inter bina castra erat, agmine complevere. Cum Romani sub ipso constitissent vallo haud dubie aequiore loco, successit tamen Poenus cum expeditis equitibusque ad lacessendum hostem. Carptim Poeni et procursando recipiendoque sese pugnare; restitit suo loco Romana 3 acies. Lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis voluntate fuit. Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere.

4 Inclusus inde videri Hannibal via ad Casilinum obsessa, cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo divitum sociorum Romanis commeatus subveheret, Poenus inter Formiana saxa ac Literni harenas stagnaque et

9. in proelium rediit, *turned and gave battle*; for in, denoting purpose, see XXI. 32. 7 n.

12. ducturus erat: cf. *movit*, XXI. 32. 1 n.

STRATAGEM OF HANNIBAL.

16. 2. *carptim*, in successive charges. — *restitit*: opposed to the ideas in *procursando* and *recipi-*

endo sese; they were neither driven back nor did they pursue.

3. *lenta*: *i.e.* not fought with any great spirit. — *ex . . . voluntate*: *i.e.* such as Fabius wished in accordance with his design not to fight at all, unless under very favorable circumstances.

4. *Formiana*, etc.: Livy seems to give all the difficulties of the

per horridas silvas hibernaturus esset. Nec Hannibalem 5
 fefellit suis se artibus peti. Itaque cum per Casilinum
 evadere non posset petendique montes et iugum Calli-
 culae superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum val-
 libus agmen adgrederetur, ludibrium oculorum specie 6
 terribile ad frustrandum hostem commentus principio
 noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis 7
 consilii talis apparatus fuit: faces undique ex agris
 collectae fascisque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti prae-
 ligantur cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque
 multos inter ceteram agrestem praedam agebat; ad duo 8
 milia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negotium
 datum ut nocte id armentum accensis cornibus ad
 montis ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste
 inessos.

Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves aliquanto 17
 ante signa acti. Vbi ad radices montium viasque an- 2
 gustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur ut accensis
 cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montis. Et
 metus ipse relucentis flammae a capite calorque iam ad
 vivum ad imaque cornua veniens velut stimulatos furore
 agebat boves. Quo repente discursu haud secus quam 3
 silvis montibusque accensis omnia circa virgulta visa

country in the neighborhood with-
 out much regard to Hannibal's exact
 position, but the picture makes a
 good pendant to that of the Ro-
 mans with all Latium open behind
 them.

5. *suis artibus*: see XXI. 34.
 1 n. — *per Casilinum*: *i.e.* up the
 Volturnus. — *montes*, etc.: farther
 to the north about Trebula, crossing
 Mt. Tifata, or even as far north as
 Teanum. — *Romanus*: *i.e.* the
 small force sent to Mons Callicula
 (15. 3).

6. *ludibrium oculorum*, a *trick*

by which their eyes were 'fooled.' —
principio noctis: opposed to the
 daylight, when he would be seen. —
ad montes: in the direction of
 the pass.

8. *accensis cornibus*: cf. Sam-
 son's treatment of foxes, *Judges*,
 xv. 4.

SUCCESS OF THE STRATAGEM.

17. 3. *repente*: like an adject-
 ive qualifying *discursu*; cf. *deinceps*,
 XXI. 8. 5 n. — *circa*: see
 XXI. 7. 5 n.

ardere, capitumque irrita quassatio excitans flammam
 4 hominum passim discurrentium speciem praebebat. Qui
 ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in
 summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspex-
 re, circumventos se esse rati praesidio excessere; qua
 minime densae micabant flammae, velut tutissimum iter
 petentes summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boves
 5 palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo cum procul
 cernerent, veluti flammam spirantium miraculo attoniti
 6 constiterunt; deinde ut humana apparuit fraus, tum
 vero, insidias rati esse, cum maiore tumultu concitant
 se in fugam. Levi quoque armaturae hostium incurrere;
 ceterum nox aequato timore neutros pugnam incipientis
 7 ad lucem tenuit. Interea toto agmine Hannibal trans-
 ducto per saltum et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium
 oppressis in agro Allifano posuit castra.
 8 Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius; ceterum et insidias
 esse ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine
 2 suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub iugo montis
 proelium fuit, quo interclusam ab suis levem armatu-

4. *excessere*: this seems misleading, as it appears from the whole as well as from Polybius' account (III. 94) that the Romans were not alarmed, but attacked the supposed enemy. — *tamen*: i.e. though they went in the direction where there were the fewest lights, yet they did come upon some.

5. *flammam spirantium*, *fire-breathing monsters*; the participle is intentionally vague; cf. *hominum specie visos*, XXI. 62. 5. This part may well be true, after they came in sight.

6. *levi armaturae*: perhaps the soldiers who drove the cattle. — *neutros pugnam incipientis* = *utrosque, cum neutri pugnam inci-*

perent; as often in Latin, two thoughts have but one sentence, and the fondness for merging the negative into some early word (cf. *nec, nego*, etc.) here results almost in obscurity.

FABIUS FOLLOWS HANNIBAL. HANNIBAL ESCAPES TOWARD APULIA. FABIUS IS SUMMONED TO ROME.

18. *utique, in any case*; he did not wish to fight, and certainly not in the night.

2. *sub iugo*: this does not seem to agree with the end of 17, but Livy evidently had no clear idea of the proceedings. — *suis*: such ambiguous uses of the reflexive are not

ram facile — etenim numero aliquantum praestabant — Romani superassent nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale pervenisset. Ea, adsuavior mon-³ tibus et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac levior cum velocitate corporum tum armorum habitu, campestrum hostem gravem armis statariumque pugnae genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine⁴ digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.

Fabius quoque movit castra transgressusque saltum⁵ super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum per⁶ Samnium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque in Paelignos populabundus rediit; Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam iugis ducebat nec absistens nec congregiendi. Ex Paelignis Poenus flexit⁷ iter retroque Apuliam repetens Gereonium pervenit, urbem metu, quia conlapsa ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam; dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam revocatus, non⁸

uncommon where the context makes the meaning clear. — **pervenisset**: changed to *supervenisset* by most editors since Gronov.

3. **velocitate corporum**, *speed in running*, as opposed to their lighter equipment. — **campestrum**: i.e. not accustomed, like the Spaniards, to mountains. — **statarium**, *trained to fight in line*; not light troops for skirmishing. — **pugnae genere**, *on account of the nature of the contest*. — **elusit**, *escaped*; but with an allusion to the manner of fighting, by dodging and eluding the Romans; cf. XXI. 50. 2.

4. **aliquot**: a thousand, according to Polybius (III. 94).

5. **super Allifas**: with **consedit**. He was still watching Hannibal.

6. **per Samnium**: apparently

going up the Volturnus and then across the mountains, through the lands of the Pentri and Caraceni, the northernmost tribes of Samnium.

— **Paelignos**: in the mountains, but occupying the valley of the Aternus, which flows eastward into the Adriatic. — **populabundus**: for Livy's fondness for adjectives in *-bundus* see XXI. 36. 1 n. — **rediit**: loosely used in reference to 9. 5.

7. **flexit**: descending on the eastern side of the mountains. — **Gereonium**: on the borders between Samnium and the Frentani, off the main route through Apulia, up in the mountains. Larinum is on the route, a short distance northeast. — **urbem**: earlier usage requires a preposition; Gr. 258. b. 3.

8. **revocatus**, etc.: by a loose

imperio modo sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum ut plus consilio quam fortunae
 9 confidat et se potius ducem quam Sempronium Flamini-
 umque imitetur; ne nihil actum censeret extracta prope
 aestate per ludificationem hostis: medicos quoque plus
 interdum quiete quam movendo atque agendo proficere;
 10 haud parvam rem esse ab totiens victore hoste vinci
 desisse ac respirasse ab continuis cladibus — haec nequi-
 quam praemonito magistro equitum Romam est pro-
 fectus.

- 19 Principio aestatis qua haec gerebantur in Hispania
 2 quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est. Hasdrubal
 ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum
 3 paratumque acceperat, decem adiectis quadraginta na-
 vium classem Himilconi tradit, atque ita Carthagine

narrative construction the verb follows at the end of 10. The period is awkwardly constructed, and the present participle *agens* is inexact. — *imperio*: *i.e.* in virtue of his authority as commander-in-chief forbidding Minucius to fight. — *consilio*: *i.e.* not content with ordering, he shows by argument the excellence of his plans and even entreats (*precibus*) his subordinate not to disobey. — *agens cum*, *urging upon*; used in general of any influence brought to bear by one person on another, something like 'dealing with' in colloquial use. — *consilio*: in a slightly different sense from the preceding; cf. *ratione non fortuna*, 23. 2. — *confidat* . . . *censeret*: for change of tense see XXI. 30. 11 n.

9. *Sempronium*: at the Trebia; see XXI. 52 f. — *Flaminium*: at Lake Trasimennus; see 4. 4 f. — *ne nihil*, etc.: *i.e.* not to think they had accomplished nothing in

the campaign when they had baffled the enemy through the whole summer, for in cases of sickness also an expectant treatment was often more beneficial. — *movendo*: referring to setting the functions of the patient's body in activity by energetic treatment. — *agendo*: referring to the *physician* himself, while *quiete* refers loosely to both patient and physician.

10. *haec* . . . *equitum*: Livy thus sums up the whole advice of Fabius to Minucius, adding that it was all in vain.

The departure of the dictator gives a fitting opportunity to resume the story of events in Spain.

OPERATIONS IN SPAIN.

19. *aestatis*: *i.e.* B.C. 217. The narrative is resumed from XXI. 61.

2. *numerus*: see XXI. 22. 4.

3. *atque ita*, *and at once*; properly, 'and so (equipped).' — *Carthagine*: *sc. nova*; see XXI. 5.

profectus navis prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus configere quacumque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipio postquam movisse ex hibernis 4 hostem audivit, primo idem consilii fuit; deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves imposito quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit. Altero 5 ab Tarracone die ad stationem decem milia passuum distantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis pervenit. Inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae praemissae rettulere classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis castraque in ripa posita. Itaque ut improvidos incautosque universo simul effuso 6 terrore opprimeret, sublatis ancoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas turris Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo conspectis hostium navibus datum 7 signum Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naves est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut aperientibus classem promunturiis, cum repente eques 8

4 n. — *navis*: as Hasdrubal was with the land forces, the MSS. *navibus* is indefensible. — *quacumque*, etc.: *i.e.* either by land or sea; *utracumque* would be more exact.

4. Scipio: we should expect the dative (which is found in some inferior MSS.) or that *ei* be added to *idem* . . . fuit; cf. XXI. 18. 3. — *ingentem*: a not unnatural transfer of the adjective from *auxiliorum* to *famam*; if it was a great body of reinforcements, the story would be a great one also. — *ad naves*: first with *delecto*, *i.e.* for marine service, and also in idea with *imposito*, an economy of words which is characteristic of Livy and almost of the Latin lan-

guage. — *pergit*: used almost like our *proceeds*, and with the same twist of language; of course if one 'keeps on,' he doesn't stop, and so 'loses no time'; see XXI. 57. 9 n.

6. *universo*, etc.: to indicate the general panic in the fleet and army at once, like 'a general panic far and wide through the whole force.' — *multas et . . . positas*: as usual in Latin the two adjectives are connected by a conjunction; the towers were numerous and well placed for their purpose. The whole explains the discovery of the approaching fleet.

7. *inde*: *i.e.* from the towers. This description indicates how near

alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore
 quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem
 aut proelium eo die expectantis, conscendere naves
 propere atque arma capere iubet: classem Romanam
 9 iam haud procul portu esse. Haec equites dimissi
 passim imperabant; mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni
 exercitu aderat varioque omnia tumultu strepunt ruenti-
 bus in naves simul remigibus militibusque fugientium
 10 magis e terra quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum
 omnes conscenderant, cum alii resolutis oris in ancoras
 evehuntur, alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt, rap-
 timque omnia ac praepropere agendo militum apparatu
 nautica ministeria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum
 11 capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et iam Ro-
 manus non adpropinquabat modo, sed derexerat etiam
 in pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis
 Poeni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati et temptata
 verius pugna quam inita in fugam averterunt classem.
 12 Et cum adversi amnis os lato agmini et tum multis

the Romans come to effecting their surprise.

8. *quietos*: some were in one position, others in the other. — *procul portu*: see XXI. 5. 8 n.

9. *equites*, etc.: the lively description follows the course of time, — first the advance guard arrives and calls the soldiers to arms, and presently Hasdrubal with his army comes in, and the noise and confusion are varied and general as each part of the force hurriedly performs its functions. It is in such bits of description that Livy excels.

10. *vixdum*, etc.: they had hardly embarked when the ships were unmoored. — *cum alii*, etc.: when the stern lines, which were made fast to the land, were cast off, the ships swung round and lay at

anchor, and in some cases they slipped the cables also. — *agendo*: an ablative of manner (Gr. 301 footnote) applying to the whole action. — *apparatu*: the means of *impediuntur*. The two parties mutually hinder each other. — *trepidatione*, *hurry*, *bustle*; their running hither and thither in their haste to get under way.

11. *et iam*, and by this time; i.e. when they had got ready to start. — *temptata*, etc., *making a show of fighting*; i.e. they only started a battle rather than really fought one at all. — in *fugam*: running for the mouth of the river to seek protection with the land army.

12. *adversis*: the difficulties were increased by the necessity of sailing

simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii vadis alii sicco litore excepti partim armati partim inermes ad instructam per litus aciem suorum perfugere; duae tamen primo concursu captae erant Punicae naves, quattuor suppressae.

Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat armatamque 20 aciem toto praetentam litore cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem navis omnis, quae 2 non aut perfregerant proras litori inlitas aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus in altum extraxere, ad quinque et viginti naves e quadraginta cepere. Neque 3 id pulcherrimum eius victoriae fuit, sed quod una levi pugna toto eius orae mari potiti erant.

Itaque ad Onusam classe provecti; escensio ab navi- 4 bus in terram facta. Cum urbem vi cepissent captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, atque omnem 5 agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta quoque iniuncta muro portisque incenderunt. Inde iam praeda gravis ad 6 Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti erat ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit sublato ceterum omne incensum est. Nec 7 continentis modo praelecta est ora, sed in Ebusum insulam transmissum. Ibi urbe, quae caput insulae est, 8

against the current; cf. *adverso flumine*, XXI. 27. 2 n. — **excepti**, *by way of*; literally 'received by,' *i.e.* from their ships upon the shallow waters, etc.

RESULTS OF THE ROMAN NAVAL VICTORY.

20. **insecuti**, etc.: *i.e.* the Romans made a dash in after them in spite of the protecting land force, and towed out the deserted ships.

4. **Onusam**: cf. XXI. 22. 5.

The position of the town is uncertain, but it must have been south of the Ebro.

6. **Longunticam**: still farther along the coast, but in the same neighborhood. — **sparti**: a grass of which cordage was made. This region was the only source of supply.

7. **Ebusum**: the name of one of the Pityussae Islands between the Balearic Isles and the coast of Spain, some distance to the north-east of New Carthage.

8. **quae**: a relative usually taken

biduum nequiquam summo labore oppugnata ubi in spem
 9 inritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad popu-
 lationem agri versi direptis aliquot incensisque vicis
 maiore quam ex continenti praeda parta cum in naves se
 recepissent, ex Baliaribus insulis legati pacem petentes
 10 ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis reditum-
 que in citeriora provinciae, quo omnium populorum, qui
 Hiberum accolunt, multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati
 11 concurrerunt. Sed qui vere dicionis imperiique Romani
 facti sint obsidibus datis populi, amplius fuere centum
 12 viginti. Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens
 Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem est progressus.
 Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.
 21 Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum aestatis tempus,
 2 fuissetque per Poenum hostem; sed praeterquam quod
 ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas res sunt
 3 ingenia, Mandonius Indebilisque, qui antea Ilergetum
 regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad

the gender of the predicate instead of that of the antecedent; see Gr. 199. — in spem: see note on *in maius*, XXI. 32. 7.

9. petentes: cf. *orantes*, XXI. 6. 2 n.

10. et: *i.e.* as well as those near by.

11. sed: contrasting the communities that actually (*vere*) submitted with those that merely sent envoys. — facti sint: the subjunctive characterizes the indefinite antecedent of qui; see Gr. 320. a.

12. Castulonensem: in the Sierra Morena, at the head of the Guadalquivir. — concessit, *retired*, before the Roman advance.

FIGHTS WITH NATIVE TRIBES.

21. fuisset: its protasis is implied in *per*, etc. — *per*, for all; *i.e.*

for anything that was done by them.

3. Mandonius Indebilisque: these Spanish chiefs were brothers of great influence (*haud dubie omnis Hispaniae principes*, XXVII. 17) and aided the Carthaginians during most of the war. In 209 B.C., because of the suspicion and arrogance of Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, and the respectful treatment of their women as hostages by P. Scipio, they formed an alliance with the Romans, but in three years they transferred their allegiance back to Carthage. In 205 B.C. Indebilis fell on the field while fighting with great heroism, and Mandonius was surrendered by his followers to the Romans, and by them at once put to death. — saltu: *sc. Castulonensi*; cf. 20. 12.

maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum venerunt. Ad-⁴ versus eos tribunus militum cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi levi certamine, ut tumultuariam manum, fudere, mille hominibus occisis, quibusdam captis magna-⁵ que parte armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilergavonensium,⁶ castra Romana ad Novam Classem erant, cum fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes⁷ regionis suae legatos miserant obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti arma capiunt, provinciamque Carthaginensium valido exercitu invadunt. Tria oppida vi expugnant; inde cum ipso Hasdruba-⁸ le duobus proeliis egregie pugnant; ad quindecim milia hostium occiderunt, quattuor milia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in provinciam²² venit, prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu missus cum triginta longis navibus et octo milibus mili-

4. *tribunus*, etc.: indicating the slight effort by which they were quelled, as the tribune was a subordinate officer whose duties were mostly routine, though he could sometimes be placed in command. — *missi*: for the number see XXI. 60. 7 n. — *tumultuariam*, *irregular*; i.e. not a regular organized army, but only a suddenly gathered throng; cf. *tumultuatum*, XXI. 16. 4 n. — *exuta*: i.e. in their flight; cf. XXI. 61. 9.

5. *tamen*: i.e. though it was easily quelled. — *cis*: not east of the Ebro, as the Ilergavonenses lived on the coast beyond the Ebro. It must mean 'back to the Ebro on that side.'

6. *Novam Classem*: apparently

east of the Ebro, perhaps among the Ilergetes.

7. *Celtiberi*: the powerful nation west of the Idubeda Mountains, holding many strong places like Numantia, and occupying the region of Castile. They were dangerous enemies of the Romans for many years after this. — *miserant*: inserted by Gronov to prevent a harsh zeugma.

ARRIVAL OF P. SCIPIO. CUNNING OF ABELUX.

22. 1. *Scipio*: he was consul in 218 B.C., wounded at the Ticinus, and had wintered at Cremona (XXI. 46. 7; 56. 9).

- 2 tum magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul visa cum magna laetitia civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit.
- 3 Ibi milite exposito profectus Scipio fratri se coniungit, ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum.
- 4 Occupatis igitur Carthaginensibus Celtiberico bello haud cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur nec ullo viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama erat modico in
- 5 arce custodiri praesidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur.
- 6 Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus sollerti magis quam fideli consilio exsolvit. Abelux erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis, tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat fidem.
- 7 Ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei proditione venientem ad hostis nihil aliud quam unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus, id agebat ut quam maximum emolumentum novis sociis esset. Circumspectis igitur omnibus quae fortuna potestatis eius poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adiecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hi-

2. *agmine*, etc.: the reason why the fleet was so large.

3. *communi*, etc.: emphasizing their harmony and their uniting in council and acting in concert, so different from the discord of the consuls.

6. *sollerti*, etc., *more clever than honest*; a euphemistic expression, such as one naturally uses forascalities that benefit his own side. — *qualia*: *i.e. tali ingenio, qualia*. — *fortuna*: *i.e. the fortunes of the Carthaginians*.

7. *ceterum*: opposed to the idea implied in the preceding that Abelux wanted to desert to the Romans. — *corpus, person*, as opposed to material advantage or gain of some kind.

8. *eius poterat*: we should expect *suae* and the subjunctive, but Livy adds the clause as a kind of definition, from his own point of view, without referring it to Abelux's mind; and this as usual affects alike the pronoun and the mood of the verb.

spaniae amicitiam. Sed cum iniussu Bostaris praefecti 9
 satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bosta-
 rem ipsum arte adgreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso 10
 litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ea parte intercluderet
 Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum velut igno-
 rantem monet, quo statu sit res: metum continuisse 11
 ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani
 abessent; nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana esse, arcem
 tutam perfugiumque novas volentibus res; itaque quos
 metus non teneat, beneficio et gratia devinciendos esse.
 Miranti Bostari percunctantique, quodnam id subitum 12
 tantae rei donum posset esse, 'Obsides' inquit 'in civi- 13
 tates remitte. Id et privatim parentibus, quorum maxi-
 mum nomen in civitatibus est suis, et publice populis
 gratum erit. Volt sibi quisque credi, et habita fides 14
 ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Ministerium restituen-
 dorum domos obsidum mihimet deposco ipse, ut opera
 quoque impensa consilium adiuvem meum et rei suapte
 natura gratae quantam insuper gratiam possim adiciam.'
 Homini non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, 15

10. *velut*: *i.e.* acting as if Bostar was not informed, to give an appearance of honesty to his suggestion.

11. *volentibus*: cf. *pugnantium*, XXI. 29. 2 n. — *quos metus*, etc.: *i.e.* since the presence of the Romans had removed the bond of fear, they must try to retain their allies by good-will.

12. *id subitum . . . donum*: referring back to *gratia*, which would imply some great service. — *tantae rei*, of so much importance; *i.e.* what there was that could be given great enough to produce the required effect.

13. *obsides*: *i.e.* this is the *donum* referred to. — *maximum*,

etc.: such hostages were the children of the most prominent men.

14. *volt sibi*, etc.: a general truth, a well-known principle of human nature. 'Every man likes to be trusted, and confidence wins (confidence or) good faith.' *Fides* is used in a somewhat different sense (as we should think) in the two parts, but to the Romans it expressed a wider range of ideas than with us, so that the expression is not unnatural. — *domos*: accusative, on account of the idea of motion implied in *restituendum*. — *opera*, etc.: *i.e.* make a special effort to win over the Spaniards in addition to the effect of the act itself.

15. *ad (cetera)*, in accordance

nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes conventis quibusdam auxiliariis Hispanis et ab his ad Scipionem
 16 perductus, quid adferret expromit, et fide accepta data-
 que ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos Saguntum redit. Diem insequentem absumpsit cum
 17 Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. Dimis-
 sus cum se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium falleret, constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in prae-
 18 paratis sua fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eum eodem ordine quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur.
 19 Maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. Illos enim gravis superbosque in rebus secundis expertos
 20 fortuna et timor mitigasse videri poterat; Romanus primo adventu incognitus ante ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat; et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra
 21 videbatur socios mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota forent ni hiems, quae Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

with; i.e. not up to their standard of cunning; cf. the similar occasional use of *πρὸς*.

17. *excitatis*: *sc. e somno*.

18. *sic ageretur*, the thing were done.

19. *futura fuerat*, would have been; see Gr. 308. d. — *illos*: the Carthaginians as more remote in thought, though last mentioned. — *expertos*: passive, as often; cf. *perpopulato*, 9. 2; *emensam*, XXI. 30. 5; *inauspicato*, 63. 7. — *fortuna et timor*: the emphatic ideas; *i.e.*

that it was only these that had induced them to send back the hostages, while with the Romans it appeared an act of pure generosity.

20. *Romanus*: *sc. Scipio*. — *ante, already*. — *et, then too*; introducing another — the third — reason for preferring the Romans. — *haud frustra, not without good cause; i.e.* he had joined the better party in changing his allies.

21. *consensu, approval*. — *forent*: see XXI. 21. 1 n.

Haec in Hispania secunda aestate Punici belli gesta, ²³ cum in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus Romanis sol-
 lers cunctatio Fabii fecisset; quae ut Hannibalem non ²
 mediocri sollicitum cura habebat, tandem eum militiae
 magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem, qui bellum
 ratione, non fortuna gereret, ita contempta erat inter ³
 civis armatos pariter togatosque, utique postquam ab-
 sente eo temeritate magistri equitum laeto verius
 dixerim quam prospero eventu pugnatum fuerat. Ac ⁴
 cesserant duae res ad augendam invidiam dictatoris,
 una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, cum a perfugis ei
 monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo
 aequatis ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim omnem hos-
 tium abstineri iussit, ut occulti alicuius pacti ea merces
 videri posset, altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, ⁵
 quia non exspectata in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad
 extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem verso.
 In permutandis captivis, quod sic primo Punico bello ⁶
 factum erat, convenerat inter duces Romanum Poenum-

UNPOPULARITY OF FABIVS.

23. 2. ut . . . ita, *although* . . . yet, as so often. — *ratione*, *by strategy*; the customary use of the ablative of this word to express a systematic method of doing anything. — *fortuna*, *at haphazard*; properly, trusting to the fortune of war for success. The use of the ablative without *cum* is a little forced, but is excused by the connection with *ratione*.

3. *contempta*, *scorned*; for the participle in its adjective use, see Gr. 291. *b.* — *armatos* . . . *togatosque*, *citizens and soldiers*. — *utique*, etc.: Livy anticipates what is narrated in the next chapter. — *laeto (eventu)*, *encouraging success*.

— *prospero eventu*, *real advantage*. — *fuerat*: the pluperfect with *postquam*, contrary to the rule, is to be referred to the desire to express the state of mind after the victory had been gained; see Gr. 324. *a*, and cf. *accesserant* in the following.

4. *fraude*, etc.: a shorthand expression for 'occasioned by the trickery,' etc. — *circa*: see XXI. 7. 5 n. — *hostium*: equivalent to *hostilem*. — *ea*: for the attracted gender, cf. the familiar *hoc opus, hic labor est*.

5. *dubio*, *suspicious*; i.e. that might possibly be judged unfavorably. — in *eo* (i.e. *facto*), *in the matter*, referring to the act described below.

6. *primo*, etc.: see XXI. 1. 2 n.

que, ut, quae pars plures reciperet quam daret, argenti
 7 pondo bina et selibras in militem praestaret. Ducentis
 quadraginta septem cum plures Romanus quam Poenus
 recepisset argentumque pro eis debitum, saepe iactata
 in senatu re, quoniam non consulisset patres, tardius
 8 erogaretur, inviolatum ab hoste, agrum misso Romam
 Quinto filio vendidit fidemque publicam impendio pri-
 vato exsolvit.

9 Hannibal pro Gereoni moenibus, cuius urbis captae
 atque incensae ab se in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat
 10 tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas exerci-
 tus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione
 erat simul castris praesidio et circumspectans necunde
 24 impetus in frumentatores fieret. Romanus tunc exer-
 citus in agro Larinati erat. Praeerat Minucius magister
 equitum profecto, sicut ante dictum est, ad urbem dic-
 2 tatore. Ceterum castra, quae in monte alto ac tuto loco
 posita fuerant, iam in planum deferuntur; agitabantur-
 que pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut
 in frumentatores palatos aut in castra relicta cum levi

— quae = *utra*. — pondo: see XXI. 62. 8 n.

7. non consulisset: *i.e.* he was thought to have exceeded his authority in making the agreement without the approval (*auctoritas*) of the senate. — erogaretur, *was appropriated*; the technical term, though properly used of the people.

8. fidem, *debt*; properly, the pledge he had made on behalf of the state. — exsolvit: as a pound of silver now contained 84 denarii, the whole amount would be about \$10,000.

CAVALRY SKIRMISH OF MINUCIUS.

9. Gereoni, etc.: cf. 18. 7. The discrepancy in the accounts is no

doubt due to Livy's careless use of different authorities.

10. duas . . . partes, *two-thirds*, as in general *partes* is used for the denominator of a fraction which is one greater than the numerator. — expedita, *under arms*, as opposed to the foragers, who would be encumbered with booty. — praesidio et circumspectans: cf. *adlocutus et . . . accensos*, XXI. 48. 2 n.

24. profecto, *in the absence of*, to render the emphasis. — ante: see 18. 8.

2. posita: cf. *contempta*, 23. 3 n. — calidiora, *more hot headed*. — ut impetus fieret, *of attacking*; defining consilia calidiora.

praesidio fieret. Nec Hannibalem fefellit cum duce 3
mutatam esse belli rationem et ferocius quam consultius
rem hostes gesturos. Ipse autem, quod minime quis 4
crederet, cum hostis propius esset, tertiam partem mili-
tum frumentatum duabus in castris retentis dimisit, dein 5
castra ipsa propius hostem movit duo ferme a Gereonio
milia in tumultum hosti conspectum, ut intentum se sciret
esse ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Pro- 6
pior inde ei atque ipsis imminens Romanorum castris
tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam
iretur, quia haud dubie hostis brevior via praeveniret
erat, nocte clam missi Numidae ceperunt. Quos tenen- 7
tis locum contempta paucitate Romani postero die cum
deiecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. Tum utique 8
exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id ipsum totum
prope compleverat Romana acies. Simul et per aversa
castra [e castris Hannibalis] equitatus cum levi arma-
tura emissus in frumentatores late caedem fugamque
hostium palatorum fecit. Nec acie certare Hannibal 9
ausus, quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur,
tutari poterat. Iamque artibus Fabii [pars exercitus 10
aberat iam fame], sedendo et cunctando, bellum gerebat

3. *ferocius quam consultius*,
with more rashness than prudence.

4. *quod minime*, etc.: Livy apparently thought it strange that Hannibal, if he wished to avoid an engagement, sent out any troops at all, or that, in view of the nearness of the headstrong Minucius, he did not seek to fight by marching out with his army. Polybius, with more clearness, says (III. 100) that Hannibal was eager to collect as much corn as possible for his intended winter-quarters at Gereonium.

6. *iretur*: a future condition thrown into past time; see Gr. 307. f.

7. *deiecissent*, had dislodged; a technical expression.

8. *utique*: i.e. though the camps had been near before, yet now they certainly were extremely so. — *aversa castra*, the rear of the camp; i.e. by the *porta decumana*. — *e . . . Hannibalis*: if these words belong here, something like *ne conspiceretur* must have been lost from the text.

10. *pars . . . fame*: these words have no meaning here, and no satisfactory emendation has been proposed. — *sedendo*: appositive of *artibus*; cf. *parendum*, XXI. 4.

- receperatque suos in priora castra, quae pro Gereoni
 11 moenibus erant. Iusta quoque acie et collatis signis
 dimicatum quidam auctores sunt : primo concursu Poe-
 num usque ad castra fustum, inde eruptione facta re-
 pente versum terrorem in Romanos, Numeri Decimi
 12 Samnitis deinde interventu proelium restitutum. Hunc,
 principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo, unde
 erat, sed toto Samnio, iussu dictatoris octo milia pedi-
 tum et equites quingentos ducentem in castra, ab
 tergo cum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utri-
 que praeuisse novi praesidii cum Q. Fabio ab Roma
 13 venientis. Hannibalem insidiarum quoque aliquid ti-
 mentem recepissee suos, Romanum insecutum adiuvante
 14 Samnite duo castella eo die expugnasse. Sex milia
 hostium caesa, quinque admodum Romanorum ; tamen
 in tam pari prope clade vanam famam egregiae vic-
 toriae cum vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam
 perlatam.
- 25 De iis rebus persaepe et in senatu et in contione
 2 actum est. Cum laeta civitate dictator unus nihil nec
 famae nec litteris crederet et, ut vera omnia essent,
 3 secunda se magis quam adversa timere diceret, tum M.
 Metilius tribunus plebis id enimvero ferendum esse

3 n.; *stimulando*, 11. 3 n. — *recep-
 erat*: Livy carelessly changes the
 point of time to that of Hannibal
 already in his camp.

11. *iusta*: as opposed to the
 skirmish with the foragers. — *auc-
 tores sunt* = *tradunt*.

12. *unde* = *ex quo oppido*; cf.
 Cic. *Clu.* 5. 11 *municipii Larinatis,
 ex quo erat, . . . nobilitate facile
 princeps*.

13. *castella*: apparently out-
 works of the camp.

14. *vanioribus*: *i.e.* treating it

as a victory at all was sufficiently
 vain-glorious, but the boasting of
 Minucius was more idle still.

POLITICS AT ROME. FABIVS AND
 MINUCIVS MADE EQUAL IN
 POWER.

25. *in senatu*: in reference to
 the conduct of the war. — *in con-
 tione*: before the people in refer-
 ence to future political action.

2. *ut, though*.

3. *id enimvero*: quoted without

negat: non praesentem solum dictatorem obstitisse 4
 rei bene gerendae, sed absentem etiam gestae obstare
 et in ducendo bello sedulo tempus terere, quo diutius
 in magistratu sit solusque et Romae et in exercitu im-
 perium habeat. Quippe consulum alterum in acie ceci- 5
 disse, alterum specie classis Punicae persequendae procul
 ab Italia ablegatum; duos praetores Sicilia atque Sar- 6
 dinia occupatos, quarum neutra hoc tempore provincia
 praetore egeat; M. Minucium magistrum equitum, ne
 hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret, prope in
 custodia habitum. Itaque hercule non Samnium modo, 7
 quo iam tamquam trans Hiberum agro Poenis concessum
 sit, sed Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agrum
 pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore et legionibus
 populi Romani agrum suum tutante. Exercitum cupien- 8
 tem pugnare et magistrum equitum clausos prope intra
 vallum retentos, tamquam hostibus captivis arma adempta.
 Tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione libe- 9
 ratos extra vallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse hostis.
 Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei Romanae esset, 10

change from the direct form; see I. 51. 8 n., and cf. Cic. *Verr.* II. 1. 66 *enimvero ferendum hoc quidem non est*.

4. *rei bene gerendae*, the attempt at success. — *gestae obstare*, stood in the way of its recognition when obtained. The two participles are opposed to each other as future and past, though that is not the English way of putting it; see Gr. 296. footnote, and cf. *ante conditam condendamve urbem*, *Praef.* 6 n. — *ducendo*, prolonging.

5. *quippe*: introducing the reasons why Fabius was the only magistrate with the *imperium*. — *alterum*, *alterum*: Flaminius (6. 4) and Servilius (11. 7).

6. *praetores*: sc. T. Otacilius (10. 10) and A. Cornelius Mamula (XXIII. 21. 4).

7. *quo*: ablative of separation after *concessum sit*. The construction is common with *cedo*, but very rare with this compound. — *tamquam*, etc.: an allusion to the treaty with Hasdrubal (XXI. 2. 7). — *trans Hiberum agro*: see *pugna*, etc., XXI. 15. 6 n. — *Poenis*: dative of advantage (Gr. 226. N. 2).

8. *hostibus captivis*, captives taken from the enemy.

9. *ut . . . ut*, as soon as . . . as if. — *abscesserit*: for *abscessit* of the direct discourse; see Gr. 287. c. N.

10. *esset*: imperfect because the condition is a continued one, though

- audaciter se laturum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabi imperio; nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de
 11 aequando magistri equitum et dictatoris iure. Nec tamen ne ita quidem prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium quam consulem in locum C. Flamini suffecisset.
- 12 Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime popularis. Ne in senatu quidem satis aequis auribus audiebatur, cum hostem verbis extolleret biennique clades per temeritatem atque inscitiam ducum acceptas
 13 referret et magistro equitum, quod contra dictum suum
 14 pugnasset, rationem diceret reddendam esse. Si penes se summa imperii consilii sit, prope diem effecturum ut sciant homines bono imperatore haud magni fortunam
 15 momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari, et in tempore et sine ignominia servasse exercitum quam multa milia hostium occidisse maiorem gloriam esse.
- 16 Huius generis orationibus frustra habitis et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne praesens de iure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendae dies adesset
 17 nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce orta cum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris favorque

the pluperfect would stand in the apodosis; see Gr. 308. *a.* — **audaciter**: Quintilian says (I. 6. 17) the use of this form instead of *audacter* was, in his time, pedantic. — **modicam**: *i.e.* less drastic than the one suggested. — **promulgaturum**: the technical term for giving notice of a proposed bill.

11. *ita, in that case, i.e.* when that bill had passed. — **consulem**, etc.: *i.e.* for the purpose of having another magistrate with the *imperium*.

12. *in actione, as a speaker*; not being a popular man with the multitude, Fabius was not likely to

gain anything by debate in the *contio*. — **acceptas referret**: not in its technical meaning of *charge*, but still with a vague allusion to its commercial use, repeated in *rationem*, etc.

14. **bono imperatore**: a loose use of the ablative of manner. — **fortunam**: cf. 23. 2 n.

16. **Regulo**: he had been consul in B.C. 227, and was now old (40. 6).

17. **plebis concilium**: probably the *comitia tributa* for passing the law. — **magis**, etc.: *i.e.* there was more feeling in favor of the law than willingness on the part of any prominent men (*auctoritas*) to

magistri equitum animos versabat quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum quod vulgo placebat prodire, et favore superante auctoritas tamen rogationi deerat. Vnus inventus est suasor legis C. Terentius Varro, qui 18 priore anno praetor fuerat, loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum 19 institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis ministeria usum. Is iuvenis, ut primum ex eo genere 20 quaestus pecunia a patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris fortunae fecit togaque et forum placuere, procla- 2 mando pro sordidis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores pervenit : quaestura quoque et duabus aedilitati- 3 bus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et praetura perfunctus iam ad consulatus spem cum attolleret animos, haud 4 parum callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoria invidia petiit scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit.

Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romae quique in 5

come forward as its champions. — *favore superante, though a large majority was in its favor.*

C. TERENTIUS VARRO.

18. *Varro*: see 34, where his career is continued. — *sordido*: in allusion to the mean occupation of his father (*lanium*).

19. *ipsum*, etc.: *i.e.* he had actually peddled his own meat, like the driver of a butcher's cart.

20. *liberalioris, less servile*, as opposed to the humble nature of his former occupation. — *toga*: the lower classes appeared in their tunics only (*tunicatus popellus*), while respectable persons never went out without the toga. — *forum*: as the center of business and public life; *i.e.* he became a shyster (*rabula* or *latrator*).

2. *proclamando*: a contemptuous word instead of *orando*, or *dicendis causis*, which would be used of a real advocate. — *populi*: in its later use, referring to the common people. — *honores, office*, though of the humblest sort, as is implied in quoque (3).

3. *quoque*: *i.e.* these offices admitted Varro into the nobility. — *attolleret animos, began to aspire*; had the confidence to think he could attain this office.

4. *auram, etc.*: cf. *arbitrio popularis aurae*, Hor. C. III. 2. 20. — *dictatoria*: not merely against the dictator, but such as a dictator naturally excited in the popular mind. — *tulit, carried off*, by taking up the cause single-handed.

5. *eam rogationem latam, the passage of this bill*; cf. *amissae*, XXI. 1. 5 n. — *quique ... quique*:

exercitu erant, aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum dicta-
6 torem in contumeliam eius latam acceperunt; ipse, qua
gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos
tulerat, eadem et populi in se saevientis iniuriam tulit;
7 acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris senatus de aequato
imperio, satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii iure
artem imperandi aequatam cum invicto a civibus hosti-
busque animo ad exercitum rediit.

- 27 Minucius vero cum iam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset
2 rebus secundis ac favore volgi, tum utique immodice
immodesteque non Hannibale magis victo ab se quam
3 Q. Fabio gloriari: illum, in rebus asperis unicum ducem
ac parem quaesitum Hannibali, maiorem minori, dic-
tatores magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habe-
at annalium, iussu populi aequatum in eadem civitate
in qua magistri equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris
4 tremere atque horrere soliti sint: tantum suam felici-
tatem virtutemque enituisse. Ergo secuturum se for-
tunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione ac segnitie

a very rare use of *-que . . . -que*, found in Livy only with relative pronouns.—in *contumeliam*, as an *insult*; see in *maius*, XXI. 32. 7. n., and cf. in *omen* . . . *acceptum*, XXI. 63. 14.—*acceperunt*, *took*; almost like the English expression.

6. *gravitate animi*, *dignity*, but with reference to the unruffled feelings with which as a *gravis vir*, one not easily moved (cf. *levis*), Fabius accepted the situation.—*criminantes*, etc.: the two classes are the active enemies, and the people who were supposed to be impartial and only misguided.

7. *litteris senatus*: the action of the senate putting in force the vote of the people; cf. *litterae ab senatu*, XXI. 51. 5.—*invicto*, etc.: cf. 15. 1.

VAINGLORY OF MINUCIUS.

27. *rebus*, etc.: ablatives of cause, loosely used after Livy's custom.

2. *tum utique*: opposed to *iam ante*; cf. 24. 8 n.—*immodice immodesteque*, *violently and without restraint*; two aspects of the same character, the former referring to the degree of his action, the latter, to his want of self-restraint in so conducting himself.—*Hannibale victo ab se*, *in his victory over Hannibal*.

3. *minori*: applied by Minucius to himself, though grammatically the reference is ambiguous.—*aequatam*: he himself treats the action as a leveling down and not up: cf. 26. 5.

4. *felicitatem*: notice the weight

deorum hominumque iudicio damnata perstaret. Itaque 5
quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuen-
dum omnium primum ait esse quem ad modum imperio
aequato utantur: se optimum ducere, aut diebus alternis 6
aut, si maiora intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus
alterius summum ius imperiumque esse, ut par hosti 7
non consilio solum sed viribus etiam esset, si quam
occasionem rei gerendae habuisset. Q. Fabio haudqua- 8
quam id placere: omnia fortunam eam habitura quam-
cumque temeritas collegae habuisset; sibi communicatum
cum alio, non ademptum imperium esse: itaque se num- 9
quam volentem parte qua posset rerum consilio geren-
darum cessurum, nec se tempora aut dies imperij cum
eo, exercitum divisurum suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia
non liceret, quae posset servaturum. Ita obtinuit ut 10
legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se dividerent.
Prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evene-
runt. Item equites pari numero sociumque et Latini 11
nominis auxilia diviserunt. Castris quoque se separari
magister equitum voluit.

given to good fortune as an indication of the favor of the gods; hence *secuturum se fortunam suam*, meaning that Minucius would take advantage of this favor if his colleague continued in his old course. — *deorum*: with the same idea which is expressed in *felicitem* and *fortunam*, above.

6. *alterius*: i.e. one of the two at a time, each having the whole army at his disposal.

8. *fortunam*, etc.: i.e. the entire issue of the campaign, as well as the rashness of his colleague, would be alike the sport of fortune; cf. 29. 1. — *esse*: *oratio obli-*

qua, whereas *placere* is historical infinitive.

9. *parte*: for the ablative cf. *quo*, 25. 7 n. — *qua posset*: sc. *cedere*; i.e. though Fabius had to give up half the army, he would still be able to contribute to the judicious conduct of the war, — as the sequel proved (29. 3-6). — *tempora aut dies*: cf. *diebus alternis* and *partitis temporibus*, 6.

10. *prima et quarta*, etc.: two legions, with the accompanying auxiliaries, formed the regular consular army. — *evenerunt*: sc. *sorte*; see XXI. 17. 1 n.

11. *numero*: a loose ablative of manner.

28 Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit — neque enim quicquam eorum quae apud hostes agerentur eum fallabat et perfugis multa indicantibus et per suos explorantem; nam et liberam Minucii temeritatem se suo modo captaturum et sollertiae Fabii dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minucii et Poenorum, quem qui occupasset, haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum facturus. Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem procursum ad obsistendum satis sciebat, contrahere. 5 Ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis insidiatore, quia non modo silvestre quicquam sed ne vepribus 6 quidem vestitum habebat, re ipsa natus tegendis insidiis eo magis, quod in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat; et erant in anfractibus cavae rupes, ut quaedam 7 earum ducenos armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque 8 milia conduntur peditum equitumque. Necubi tamen aut motus alicuius temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum quem ante diximus tumulum

MINUCIUS IS DRAWN INTO AN AMBUSH.

28. *neque enim*: introducing the reason generally for any feeling at all on the part of Hannibal. — *agerentur*: subjunctive of indefinite frequency; see note on *haesisset*, XXI. 8. 11.

2. *nam*: introducing the reason for the particular feeling. — *liberam*, *unrestrained*; i.e. by his colleague.

5. *etc.*: indirect discourse depending on the thought implied in *tumulum*.

4. *tumulum*, an occasion. — *con-*

trahere: used on account of the idea of joining battle; cf. *committere pugnam*, *manus conserere*, and the like.

5. *non modo*, not only not; see 3. 4 n. — *quicquam*, any place, belonging both with *silvestre* and *vestitum*.

6. *re ipsa*: opposed to *prima specie*. — *insidiis*: dative after *natus* in the sense of *aptus*; cf. *loca nata insidiis*, 4. 2. — *et erant*: and in fact there were; hence the emphatic position. — *anfractibus*, *depressions*, because of the rolling or uneven surface.

avertit oculos hostium. Primo statim conspectu con- 9
 tempta paucitas, ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos
 inde hostis ac locum capiendum; dux ipse inter stolidis-
 simos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat et vanis minis
 increpat hostem. Principio levem armaturam dimittit, 10
 deinde conferto agmine mittit equites; postremo, cum
 hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legioni-
 bus procedit. Et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque 11
 alia crescente certamine mittens auxilia peditum equi-
 tumque iam iustam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrimque
 viribus certatur. Prima levis armatura Romanorum, 12
 praeoccupatum inferiore loco succedens tumultum, pulsa
 detrusaque terrorem in succedentem intulit equitem et
 ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter percul- 13
 sos impavida sola erat videbaturque, si iusta ac recta
 pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura: tantum ani-
 morum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta; sed 14
 exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque
 in latera utrimque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt, ut
 nec animus ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam
 superesset.

Tum Fabius primo clamore paventium audito, dein 20
 conspecta procul turbata acie 'Ita est,' inquit; 'non cele-
 rius quam timui deprendit fortuna temeritatem. Fabio 2

8. *avertit*: sc. Hannibal.

9. *pellendos* . . . *hostis*: i.e. the task of driving, etc., like the gerund with *dare*, *locare*, etc.: see Gr. 294. *d.*—*ad arma*: see XXI. 49. 10 n.

11. *iustam*, *regular*; i.e. a complete line of battle as opposed to a skirmishing party.—*expleverat*, *finally filled out*; the pluperfect being used to take a new point of time.

12. *inferiore loco*: as the hill had been occupied by the enemy,

the Romans were obliged to make the attack from below.

13. *recta*, *front to front*.—*esset*: a contrary-to-fact protasis to *futura (esse)*; see Gr. 308. footnote, and 337. N. 3.

14. *animus* . . . *spes*: an effective chiasmus; see XXI. 6. 1 n.

FABIUS GOES TO THE RESCUE.

29. *ita est*, etc.: confirming his apprehensions; see 27. 8.

aequatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem videt. Sed aliud iurgandi suscensendique tempus erit; nunc signa extra vallum proferte: victoriam
 3 hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus.' Iam magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam Fabiana se acies repente velut caelo demissa ad
 4 auxilium ostendit. Itaque, priusquam ad coniectum teli veniret aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis feroci pugna hostis continuit. Qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique confugerunt ad
 5 integram aciem; qui plures simul terga dederant, conversi in hostem volventesque orbem nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare. Ac iam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus, inferebant-
 6 que signa in hostem, cum Poenus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum.
 7 Ita per variam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta cum in castra reditum esset, Minucius convocatis militibus
 8 'Saepe ego' inquit 'audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit, secundum eum qui bene monenti oboediat; qui nec ipse consulere nec
 9 alteri parere sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors est, secundam ac mediam teneamus et, dum imperare disci-
 10 mus, parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio iungamus; ad praetorium eius signa cum

5. *volventes orbem*, forming a circle; differing from *conglobati*, as referring to the beginning of the movement before the forces made a solid body.—*sensim*, only gradually, as opposed to the disorderly retreat before.

8. *eum primum*, etc.: cf. Cic. *Clu.* 31. 84 *sapientissimum esse dicunt eum cui quod opus sit*

ipsi veniat in mentem; proxime accedere illum qui alterius bene inventis obtemperet. The sentiment is as old as Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 293 seq.).—*extremi ingenii esse*, has the feeblest powers.

9. *nobis*: referring to the speaker, with his supporters and partisans as well.

tulerimus, ubi ego eum parentem appellavero, quod beneficio eius erga nos ac maiestate eius dignum est, vos, 11 milites, eos quorum vos modo arma ac dexteræ texerunt patronos salutabitis, et, si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dederit.' Signo 30 dato conclamatur inde ut colligantur vasa. Profecti et agmine incedentes ad dictatoris castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa erant converterunt. Vt constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante 2 alios magister equitum, cum patrem Fabium appellasset circumfususque militum eius totum agmen patronos consalutasset, 'Parentibus' inquit 'meis, dictator, quibus 3 te modo nomine, quod fando possum, aequavi, vitam tantum debeo, tibi cum meam salutem tum omnium horum. Itaque plebei scitum, quo oneratus magis 4 quam honoratus sum, primus antiquo abrogoque et, quod tibi mihiq[ue] exercitibusque his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et signa haec legionesque restituo. Tu, quaeso, 5 placatus me magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos

11. *salutabitis* : equivalent to an imperative.

SUBMISSION OF MINUCIUS.

30. *conclamatur* : the order was given by an understood signal, whereupon the cry to break camp (*colligere vasa*) ran along the lines; see XXI. 47. 2 n.

2. *ante tribunal*, etc. : the army proceeds to the elevated platform (*tribunal*) in front of the general's headquarters (*praetorium*), where a formal halt is made and the standards set up in regular form.

3. *modo, just now*; *i.e.* in his salutation.

4. *oneratus, honoratus* : such

jingles and puns were affected by many Latin writers even in the most serious discourse; cf. the verse quoted by Varro, *L. L.* V. 73 *onus est honos qui sustinet rem publicam*. — *primus*, etc. : *i.e.* though the bill was in his favor, he takes the initiative, etc. — *antiquo, abrogo* : technical words for voting against a proposition and annulling an old law, respectively. — *quod tibi*, etc. : a common prayer preceding any formal action among the Romans, like "God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," at the end of our formulae.

5. *placatus*, etc. : implying that they had forfeited their positions by their action.

- 6 quemque tenere iubeas.' Tum dextrae interiunctae militesque contione dimissa ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter invitati, laetusque dies ex admodum
 7 tristi paulo ante ac prope execrabili factus. Romae, ut est perlata fama rei gestae, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam volgo militum ex utroque exercitu adfirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus
 8 ad caelum ferre. Pari gloria apud Hannibalem hostisque Poenos erat; ac tum demum sentire cum Romanis
 9 atque in Italia bellum esse; nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreverant ut vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent cuius terribilem famam a
 10 patribus acceperant; Hannibalemque ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quae sedere in iugis montium solita sit, cum procella imbrem dedisse.
- 81 Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe centum viginti navium circumvectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram et obsidibus utrimque accep-
 2 tis in Africam transmisit et, priusquam in continentem escensiones faceret, Menige insula vastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque

6. *dextrae*, etc.: from very early times a sign of concord. — *invitati*, *entertained*; the regular word. — *execrabili*: i.e. a *dies ater*, or unlucky day, on which all business was avoided, of which there were several in the Roman calendar.

8. *sentire*: the subject is implied in *Hannibalem*, etc.

9. *biennio*: a good illustration of the Romans' inclusive method of counting; the Romans had first been defeated at the Ticinus in the fall of 218 B.C., and it was now the fall of 217. — *a patribus*: 24 years had passed since the close of the First Punic War.

AFFAIRS ON THE SEA.

81. *dum*, etc.: the narrative is resumed from 11. 7. — *centum viginti*: the number is supplied from Polybius. — *Sardiniae*: Polybius (III. 96) says the Carthaginian fleet retreated from Sardinia to Carthage on the approach of Servilius. — *utrimque*: i.e. from both islands.

2. *Menige*: Meninx was an island on the coast of Africa, south-east of the Lesser Syrtis, famed as the home of the Lotophagi. — *incolentibus*: see XXI. 29. 2 n. — *ipsorum*: one would expect *suus*, but it is displaced by the intensive

ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis ad litora Africae accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum 3 ducti milites navalesque socii iuxta effusi ac si in insulis cultorum egentibus praedarentur. Itaque in insidias 4 temere inlati cum a frequentibus palantes, ab locorum gnaris ignari circumvenirentur, cum multa caede ac foeda fuga retro ad naves compulsi sunt. Ad mille 5 hominum cum Ti. Sempronio Blaeso quaestore amissum. Classis ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit, traditaque Lilybaei T. Otacilio 6 praetori, ut ab legato eius P. Cincio Romam reducere- tur. Ipse per Siciliam pedibus profectus freto in Italiam 7 traiecit, litteris Q. Fabii accitus et ipse et collega eius M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se exacto iam prope semestri imperio acciperent.

Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversus 8 Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Coelius etiam eum primum a populo creatum dictatorem scribit. Sed et 9 Coelium et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum

because of the contrast with the inhabitants of the other island.

3. *iuxta ac si*, just as if.

4. *palantes*, straggling, as opposed to the considerable bodies indicated by *frequentibus*.

5. *ad*: see XXI. 22. 3 n.

7. *ipse*: opposing Servilius to the fleet. — *pedibus*, by land, not necessarily on foot; cf. πῆξιν. — *freto*: sc. *Siculo*. — *collega*: the syntax is careless, as this word belongs only to *accitus* (not to *traiecit*). — *semestri*: the regular limit of dictatorial power.

THE TITLE OF FABIVS.

8. *omnium*, etc.: the excursus is in the manner of Livy; cf. XXI.

15. 3; 38. — *annales*, the accounts; properly, a record of events by years, whence the word comes to mean history in general. — *dictatorem*, etc.: i.e. that he was officially and regularly a dictator in this campaign. — *primum*, etc.: i.e. that his was the first case in which the people voted for a dictator; Coelius not only makes him a dictator, but represents the practice as changed by this precedent.

9. *Coelium* . . . *fugit*: the force of precedent in Roman polity is curiously illustrated by this argument, which amounts to no more than that this action was contrary to established order, and therefore could not have been taken. —

procul in Gallia provincia aberat, ius fuisse dicendi dic-
 10 tatoris; quam moram quia expectare territa iam clade
 civitas non poterat, eo decursum esse, ut a populo crea-
 11 retur qui pro dictatore esset; res inde gestas gloriamque
 insignem ducis et augentes titulum imaginis posteros,
 ut, qui pro dictatore creatus erat, fuisse dictator credere-
 tur, facile obtinuisse.

32 Consules Atilius Fabiano Geminus Servilius Minu-
 ciano exercitu accepto hibernaculis mature communitis,
 quod reliquum autumnus erat, Fabi artibus cum summa
 2 inter se concordia bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum
 exeunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant car-
 pentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum univer-
 sae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis,

Gallia: *i.e.* the *ager Gallicus* between Ariminum and Ancona (9. 6). — **ius dicendi:** a dictator was not elected, but appointed by a chief magistrate who was sometimes elected for that express purpose. In this case, as there was only one consul, and as he was detained in the field, this method could not be followed, whence Livy argues that the people must have elected a pro-dictator.

10. iam: referring to the battles of Ticinus, Trebia, and Trasimenum. Many editors adopt Lentz's insertion of *tertia* after *terrata*. — **eo decursum esse,** *this expedient was resorted to.* — **pro dictatore:** as they could not elect a dictator, they elected a person to act as such. The tenacity of the Romans in regard to forms was accompanied by an equal ingenuity in evading them, no doubt a natural effect of the tenacity.

11. augentes, magnifying; *i.e.* by writing *dictator bis*, instead of *pro dictatore, dictator*. — **titulum:** the actual inscription under the wax mask (*imago*), which in the

case of curule officers was preserved in the atrium by their descendants, and constituted the title of the family to nobility. This inscription contained the name and all the offices of the deceased. — **obtinuisse, succeeded in making,** with the idea of gaining a point, establishing the exaggeration as true, as if it were purposely done.

THE FABIAN POLICY CONTINUED.

32. Fabiano: the Latin is fond of using possessive adjectives; see Gr. 214. *a. 2.* — **concordia:** opposed to the dissensions of Scipio and Sempronius, and of Fabius and Minucius.

2. carpentes, skirmishing with; cf. *carplm*, 16. 2. — **casum, risk;** in translation such inversions of the point of view are often necessary and very often convenient; here the *uncertain chance* of a general engagement, considered absolutely, is the same thing as the *risk*, from the point of view of the Romans. —

non veniebant; adeoque inopia est coactus Hannibal 3
ut, nisi cum fugae specie abeundum timuisset, Galliam
repetiturus fuerit, nulla relicta spe alendi exercitus in
eis locis, si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum
gererent.

Cum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediēte constitisset 4
bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venere. Ab iis quad-
raginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam inlatae
atque ita verba facta ut dicerent: scire sese populi 5
Romani aerarium bello exhauriri, et cum iuxta pro urbi-
bus agrisque sociorum ac pro capite atque arce Italiae,
urbe Romana, atque imperio geratur, aequum censuisse 6
Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi cum ad templorum ornatum
tum ad subsidium fortunae a maioribus relictum foret,
eo iuvare populum Romanum; si quam opem in sese 7
crederent, eodem studio fuisse oblaturus. Gratum sibi

non veniebant, *would not come*; see Gr. 277. g.

3. *coactus, straitened*; used absolutely. — *timuisset*: Madvig changed to *ei fuisset* because of *abeundum*, instead of a *ne*-clause. But the infinitive is occasionally found after expressions of fear; cf. *me crimen subitum timerem*, II. 7. 9 n., and see *se vicisse*, XXI. 53. 1 n. — *repetiturus fuerit*: a kind of double subjunctive, containing the result after *ut* and the apodosis to *nisi*, etc.; see Gr. 308. d. n. — *insequentes*: *i.e.* for the next year. — *gererent*: the apodosis *relinquatur* (in Hannibal's mind) is loosely expressed in *relicta*.

PROFFERS OF AID FROM NAPLES.

4. *iam*: in reference to the *gradual* approach of winter. — *ut dicerent*: this addition to *ita verba*

facta (sunt) is usually explained as furnishing a verb on which the following *oratio obliqua* may depend. But pleonasm is exceptionally frequent in Livy; cf. *ab initio ordinandae rei*, Praef. 12; *itaque ergo*, I. 25. 2; *praecipuos ante*, XXI. 20. 8. Quintilian (VIII. 3. 53) gives *legati retro domum, unde venerant, abierunt* from a lost book of Livy as an instance of 'vitanda macrologia,' and Caligula (Suet. *Cal.* 34) criticised Livy *ut verbosum in historia negligentemque*. With this passage cf. *orationem ita finivit ut diceret*, XXXVI. 28; *atque ita locutus est ut diceret*, Cic. *Phil.* IX. 4. 9.

5. *iuxta . . . ac, just as much . . . as*. — *capite . . . Italiae*: cf. XXI. 35. 9. — *geratur*: *sc. bellum*.

6. *subsidium*: *i.e.* a resource for the time of need. — *foret*: see XXI. 21. 1 n.

7. *in sese*: in their own persons, as opposed to the treasure. — *gratum*, etc.: *i.e.* would confer a favor

patres Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res
 8 Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque iudicaverint
 ab quibus donum, animo ac voluntate eorum qui libentes
 9 darent quam re maius ampliusque, acciperent. Legatis
 gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera quae
 ponderis minimi fuit accepta.

33 Per eosdem dies speculator Carthaginiensis, qui per
 biennium fefellerat, Romae deprensus praecisisque mani-
 2 bus dimissus, et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti,
 quod in campo Martio coniurassent; indici data libertas
 3 et aeris gravis viginti milia. Legati et ad Philippum
 Macedonum regem missi ad deposcendum Demetrium
 4 Pharium, qui bello victus ad eum fugisset, et alii in
 Ligures ad expostulandum, quod Poenum opibus auxiliis-
 que suis iuvisent, simul ad visendum ex propinquo quae
 5 in Bois atque Insubribus gererentur. Ad Pineum quo-

on them. — *duxissent, iudicave-
 rint* (8): an irregular sequence of
 tenses, both representing the future
 perfect indicative, but the first is
 adjusted to the narrative form, while
 the second retains its time, probably
 on account of a feeling of a slight
 difference in the nature of the two
 ideas.

8. *animo*, etc.: ablatives of re-
 spect. — *acciperent*: for the sub-
 junctive after *dignos ab quibus*,
 see Gr. 320. f.

9. *cura*: i.e. their anxious inter-
 est. — *patera*: only one as a sym-
 bol, as it were.

AFFAIRS IN THE CITY.

33. *speculator*: Hannibal ap-
 pears to have had many spies: see
 28. 1. — *dimissus*: not killed but
 let go, as a kind of living epistle;
 cf. the treatment of the slaves.

2. *coniurassent*: nothing is
 known of the nature or object of
 this plot. The subjunctive is that
 of quotation; so *fugisset*, 3; *iu-
 visissent*, 4; and *vovisset*, 7. —
aeris gravis: as opposed to the
 reduced weight of the *as* in the
 depreciated coinage. Its value was
 considered the same as that of the
sestertius, or nearly five cents.

3. *Philippum*: Philip V., con-
 quered by Flamininus at Cynosceph-
 alae in 197 B.C. — *Demetrium*: a
 Greek turncoat from Pharos (now
 Lesina) an island near the Dalmat-
 ian coast of the Adriatic. He had
 forsaken his queen, Teuta of Scodra,
 for the Romans, but soon deserted
 them. After his defeat by Aemilius
 Paulus in 219 B.C. he fled to Philip.

5. *ad Pineum* . . . in *Illyrios*:
 see Gr. 259. h. — *Pineum*: Pineus,
 or Pinnes, the stepson of Teuta.
 He was at first under the regency of
 Teuta, and then ruled Illyria under

que regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscendum aut, si diem proferri vellet, obsides accipiendos. Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in vicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinqua quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit aedem Concordiae, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor in Gallia vovisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse. Itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Aemilio praetore urbano C. Pupius et K. Quinctius Flamininus aedem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad consules missae, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret; se in eam diem quam iussissent comitia edicturum. Ad haec a consulis rescriptum sine detrimento rei publicae abscedi non posse ab hoste; itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius quam consul alter a bello avocaretur. Patribus rectius visum est dictatorem a consule dici comi-

the guardianship of Demetrius. — **stipendium**: after the defeat of Teuta, in 228 B.C., she surrendered to Rome a large part of her realm and the Illyrians paid an annual tribute.

6. **adeo**, to such a degree, sc. as is indicated by the previous details. — **cervicibus**: i.e. like a burden carried on the back and shoulders. The figure is a very common one; cf. Justinus, XXIX. 3 *nec Romani, tametsi Poeni et Hannibal in cervicibus erant, soluti metu Macedonico videbantur*. — **longinqua**: the adjective is not unnaturally transferred from rei to cura.

7. in religionem venit, a scruple arose. — **quam**, etc.: the matter should be in XXI. 25. 13, but is not mentioned there. — **biennio ante**:

Manlius was praetor the year before: see *biennio*, 30. 9 n. — **locatam**, contracted for.

8. **creati**, etc.: i.e. according to the usual meaning of the verb, the *praetor urbanus* presided at the election. — in **arce**: to distinguish it from the great temple of Concord on the slope towards the Forum.

AN INTERREGNUM AND A CONSULAR CAMPAIGN.

9. **ut . . . veniret**: the *ut*-construction because the letter contains a command; but as it also contains a statement of fact, the next clause is accusative with infinitive.

11. **dictatorem**: probably because a dictator could be in office

tiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius Philo M.
 12 Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit. Iis
 vitio creatis iussisque die quarto decimo se magistratu
 34 abdicare, res ad interregnum rediit. Consulibus proro-
 gatum in annum imperium. Interreges proditi a patri-
 bus C. Claudius Appi filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius
 Asina. In eius interregno comitia habita magno certa-
 2 mine patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui
 generis hominem, plebi insectatione principum populari-
 busque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabi opibus et
 dictatorio imperio concusso aliena invidia splendentem,
 volgus extrahere ad consulatum pitebatur, patres summa
 ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi aequari adsuescerent
 3 homines. Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis, co-
 gnatus C. Terenti, criminando non senatum modo sed
 etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia
 perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo con-
 4 ciliabat: ab hominibus nobiles per multos annos bellum
 quaerentibus Hannibalem in Italiam adductum; ab is-
 5 dem, cum debellari possit, fraude bellum trahi. Cum
 quattuor legionibus universis pugnari posse apparuisset

at the same time with the consuls, while the appointment of an interrex would imply that the other magistrates were out of office. The dictator would be appointed for the particular purpose only.

12. *interregnum*: apparently the term of office of the consuls had expired.

34. *consulibus*: *i.e.* they were retained as proconsuls, in the same manner that later became regular. — *proditi*, etc.: it would seem that the interrex was appointed by the Senate (9).

2. *Varroni*: see 25. 18. — *sui*: referring to *volgus*. — *popularibus*, of a demagogue. — *opibus*:

sc. concussis. — *aliena invidia*: *i.e.* more by hatred towards another than regard for himself. — *extra-here, to raise (ex)*, with the idea of difficulty and impropriety (*tra-herere*). — *se insectando*, etc.: *i.e.* for fear of the precedent, if men should be able to rise to their dignity by attacking them.

3. *conciliabat*: the force of the imperfect ('proceeded to,' or 'was engaged in') need not be expressed in English, which is less careful than the Latin in regard to the 'progressive' tenses.

4. *quaerentibus*: see XXI. 2. 7; 6. 4; 18. 13.

5. *universis*, if united.

eo, quod M. Minucius absente Fabio prospere pugnasset, duas legiones hosti ad caedem obiectas, deinde ex ipsa 6 caede ereptas, ut pater patronusque appellaretur qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos quam vinci. Con- 7 sules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. Id foedus inter omnes nobilis ictum, nec finem ante belli habituros quam consulem vere plebeium, id est hominem novum, fecissent; nam plebeios 8 nobiles iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni patribus desierint, coepisse. Cui non apparere id actum et quaesitum esse, ut inter- 9 regnum iniretur ut in patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quaesisse; id 10 postea, quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse, cum vitiosus dictator per augures fieret. Habere igitur interregnum eos; consulatum 11 unum certe plebis Romanae esse; eum populum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei qui mature vincere quam diu imperare malit.

7. *id foedus*: *i.e.* a conspiracy to that end. — *hominem novum*: in the same sense as later, the first of his family to attain a curule office.

8. *plebeios nobilis*: *i.e.* men not originally patricians, but of the new nobility, based upon curule office and consequent membership of the Senate. — *iam*, etc.: *i.e.* had now come to be. — *initiatos*, etc.: doubtless a metaphor from the induction into the mysteries of any secret society. — *patribus*: the old nobility, original patricians. The syntax is 'dative of the agent'; cf. *Hannibali*, XXI. 34. 9 n.

9. *actum*: *i.e.* that this was what they had been aiming at. — *ut . . . iniretur*: object clause in apposition with *id*. — *ut . . . essent*: purpose clause.

10. *iis*: the consuls. — *dictus*, etc.: it seems to be forgotten that it was the Senate that decided the point. — *expugnatum esse*: *i.e.* that they had carried their point in a high-handed manner, through their tools, the augurs. — *vitiosus*, *irregular*; with a *vitium* or flaw in his appointment.

11. *eos*: *sc. patres*. — *consulatum*, etc.: *i.e.* the interregnum was in the hands of the Senate; but in the case of the consulate, one of the persons must be chosen from the commons since the Licinian Rogations, passed in 367 B.C. — *populum*: essentially the same as *plebs*, though not strictly so even here. — *liberum*, *untrammelled*; *i.e.* without the coercion of the nobility. — *diu imperare*: a thrust at Fabius (25. 4).

- 35 Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda L. Manlio Volsone
 2 M. Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilium iam familiarum plebeis, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Paeto, quorum alter pontifex, alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in manu eius essent comitia rogando collegae.
 3 Tum experta nobilitas parum fuisse virium in competitoribus eius L. Aemilium Paulum, qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat, ex damnatione collegae, ex qua prope ambustus evaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad
 4 petitionem compellit. Is proximo comitali die concedentibus omnibus qui cum Varrone certaverant, par
 5 magis in adversandum quam collega datur consuli. Inde praetorum comitia habita: creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus. Philo Romae iuri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter civis Romanos et peregrinos evenit.
 6 Additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam,
 7 L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam. Omnes absentes creati sunt, nec cuiquam eorum praeter Terentium con-

THE ELECTION OF CONSULS AND
PRAETORS.

35. 2. nobilium iam: see 34. 8 n. — unus, alone; the patricians so divided their vote among the five candidates that no one was elected. — ut . . . essent: a result clause.
 3. eius: i.e. of Varro. — consul fuerat: in B.C. 219. The law forbidding re-election to the consulate within ten years (VII. 42) was this year suspended, *quoad bellum in Italia esset* (XXVII. 6). — damnatione: in consequence of some irregularities in connection with the war with Demetrius (33. 3). — prope ambustus, so as by fire; a figure often used of accused persons; cf. 40. 3. — ad petitionem compellit, induces to stand.

4. par . . . collega, more as an equal to thwart him than as a real colleague.

5. iuri dicundo: the regular dative construction with descriptions of offices, and so here attached to sors, which would more naturally take the genitive. — urbana sors: i.e. as praetor urbanus. — inter cives, etc.: i.e. as praetor peregrinus.

6. additi, etc., two other praetors were chosen. There had for ten years been four praetors. — Marcellus: the conqueror of Syracuse in 212 B.C. He fell at Venusia in 208, and was buried by Hannibal (XXVII. 27, 28).

7. omnes: sc. praetores, while eorum includes consuls as well. — nec cuiquam, etc.: i.e. no untried

sulem mandatus honos quem non iam antea gessisset, praeteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore nulli novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem ³⁶ copiae peditum equitumque additae sint, adeo et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores ut vix quicquam satis certum adfirmare ausus sim. Decem milia novorum ² militum alii scripta in supplementum, alii novas quattuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent; numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas ³ milibus peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adiecit, ut quina milia peditum, treceni equites essent, socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, peditis aequarent, [septem et octoginta milia armatorum et ducentos in ⁴ castris Romanis fuisse, cum pugnatum ad Cannas est], quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat, ⁵ maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem posse vinci hostem dictator praebuerat.

Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novae legiones ⁶

man was elected to any of the offices except Varro, and in the other cases excellent men were passed over to avoid doing so. — **fortibus ac strenuis**: cf. XXI. 4. 4 n. — **in tali tempore**, in such an emergency; a favorite phrase in Livy, always in this sense; cf. *quo in tempore*, 61. 14. — **novus**: explained above by *quem . . . gessisset*.

STRENGTH OF THE FORCES.

36. 2. alii: a verb may be supplied from **variant** (1), or from **auctores sunt** (4).

3. milibus: used like a distributive; *milleni* was apparently not yet in use. — **treceni**: there is some confusion here, as, according to XXI. 17. 3, there was already a cavalry

contingent of 300 in a legion. — **peditis**: *sc. numerum*.

4. septem . . . est: as these words only summarize what has just been stated and are awkwardly constructed, Weissenborn rejected them as a gloss. Furthermore, *fuisse* is not in the MSS., though it is indispensable, and in *castris*, instead of *in acie*, is inexact. — **quidam**: *e.g. Polybius* (III. 107).

5. spem posse, etc.: see 29. 6.

PRODIGIES.

6. ceterum: resuming the narrative after a digression, as frequently in Livy. — **priusquam**, etc.: *i.e.* to prevent superstitious fears, religious matters were attended to before anybody went to

moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere iussi
 7 propter territos volgo homines novis prodigiis. Nam et
 Romae in Aventino et Ariciae nuntiatum erat sub idem
 tempus lapidibus pluvisse, et multo cruore signa in
 Sabinis sudasse, et Caeretes aquas fonte calido gelidas
 8 manasse; id quidem etiam, quod saepius acciderat, magis
 terrebat; et in via fornicata, quae ad Campum erat, ali-
 quot homines de caelo tacti exanimatique fuerant. Ea
 9 prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati a Paesto pateras
 aureas Romam attulerunt. Iis sicut Neapolitanis gratiae
 actae, aurum non acceptum.

37 Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno
 2 commeatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nun-
 tiarunt caedem C. Flamini consulis exercitusque allatam
 adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nulla sua propria
 3 regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quam-
 quam probe sciat magnitudinem populi Romani admi-
 rabiliorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse,
 4 tamen se omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella
 iuvare soleant, misisse; quae ne accipere abnuant, magno
 5 opere se patres conscriptos orare. Iam omnium primum
 ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum ac
 viginti adferre sese: acciperent eam tenerentque et
 6 haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam tre-

the field. — *decemviri libros*, etc.: see I. 16 n., and XXI. 62. 6 n.

7. *lapidibus*: cf. XXI. 62. 5 n.

8. *erat*, *used to lead*; the arcade was not in existence in Livy's time.

EMBASSY OF HIERO.

37. *Hierone*: see XXI. 49. 3 n. — *Ostia*: accusative plural. The feminine singular form is more common; cf. II. 7.

2. *adlatam*, *the news of*. — *potu-*

erit: the common perfect in result clauses (Gr. 287. c.); but there is here an interesting syntactical complex, because the whole statement is in indirect discourse, because *potu-erit* is apodosis to the condition implied in *sua propria*, etc., and because of the behavior of *possum*, etc. (Gr. 308. c.), in such situations.

5. *sese*: in this section, as in the next, the envoys speak of themselves, but in 7 ff. they again personate the king. — *propriam*, etc.: implying

centa milia modium tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent, et quantum praeterea opus esset, quo iussissent subvecturos. Milite atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum; levium armorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis: itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum adversus Baliares ac Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant, ut praetor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam traiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent minusque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali summittenda. Ab senatu ita responsum regis legatis est, virum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adiuvisse. Id perinde ac deberet gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum et a civitatibus quibusdam allatum gratia rei accepta non acceperat populum Romanum. Victoriam omenque accipere sedemque ei se divae dare dicare Capitolium, templum Iovis optimi maximi; in ea arce urbis Romanae sacratam volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores sagittarii et frumentum traditum consulibus. Quinqueremes ad . . .

a wish for the thing symbolized, not merely the statue itself.

7. *Latini nominis*: see XXI. 55. 4 n. — *levium*, etc.: the emphasis gives an adversative force, 'but light armed,' etc.

8. *misisse*: notice the emphasis; 'he had accordingly sent them.'

10. *legatis*: inserted by Luchs; others change *regis* to *regi* or *regiis*. — *uno tenore*, in the same consistent manner; cf. *tenore uno*, 47. 6, and Lucretius, V. 507 *mare certo*

quod fuit aestu unum labendi conservans usque tenorem. The expression was proverbial; see Cic. *Or.* 6. 21 *is uno tenore, ut aiunt, in dicendo fuit*.

11. *et*: i.e. by other states also. — *gratia rei*, etc.: i.e. 'while they recognized the good-will,' etc., the connection being adversative, as so often.

12. *dare, dicare*: as in religious formulas; asyndeton is common in such stock expressions; cf. *optimi*

navium classem, quae cum T. Otacilio propraetore in Sicilia erat, quinque et viginti additae, permissumque est ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam traiceret.

38 Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum ab
2 sociis ac nomine Latino venirent milites. Tum, quod
numquam antea factum erat, iure iurando ab tribunis
3 militum adacti milites; nam ad eam diem nihil praeter
sacramentum fuerat, iussu consulum conventuros neque
iniussu abituros, et ubi ad decuriatum aut centuriatum
4 convenissent, sua voluntate ipsi inter sese decuriati
equites, centuriati pedites coniurabant sese fugae atque
formidinis ergo non abituros neque ex ordine recessuros
nisi teli sumendi aut aptandi et aut hostis feriendi aut
5 civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos foe-
dere ad tribunos ac legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem
translatum.

6 Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, con-
sulis Varronis multae ac feroces fuere, denuntiantis
bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus mansurumque
7 in visceribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores
8 haberet, se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum. Col-
legae eius Pauli una, pridie quam ab urbe proficisceretur,
contio fuit, verior quam gratior populo, qua nihil incle-

maximi, below, and *vellent iubere*, XXI. 17. 4.

13. *navium*: the number has fallen out, but may perhaps be supplied from XXI. 51. 7. The fleet of Servilius had been recalled (31. 6).

PREPARATIONS AND DISSENSIONS.

38. *dum venirent*: see XXI. 8. 1 n.

2. *iure iurando*; a special oath, besides the ordinary one of enlistment (*sacramentum*).

3. *decuriatum*, etc.: *i.e.* the forming into military divisions of the horse and foot, respectively; *the organization*. — *convenissent*: iterative subjunctive; see XXI. 4. 4 n. — *sua*: as opposed to the compulsion of the other oath by the tribunes.

5. *voluntario*: opposed to *legitimam*, etc. — *ipsos*: opposed to *tribunos*.

6. *contiones*, *addresses to the people*. — *denuntiantis*, *for he declared openly*.

menter in Varronem dictum nisi id modo, mirari se qui 9
dux, priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum, loco-
rum situm, naturam regionis nosset, iam nunc togatus
in urbe sciret quae sibi agenda armato forent, et diem 10
quoque praedicere posset qua cum hoste signis collatis
esset dimicaturus : se, quae consilia magis res dent ho- 11
minibus quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura
non praecepturum ; optare ut, quae caute ac consulte
gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent ; temeritatem, prae- 12
terquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum
fuisse. Sua sponte apparebat tuta celeribus consiliis 13
praepositurum, et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q.
Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem adlocutus fertur :

‘ Si aut collegam, id quod mallet, tui similem, L. 89
Aemili, haberes aut tu collegae tui esses similis, super-
vacanea esset oratio mea ; nam et duo boni consules 2
etiam me indicente omnia e re publica fideque vestra
faceretis, et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris nec con-
silia animis acciperetis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te 3
talem virum intuente mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem
video nequiquam et virum bonum et civem fore, si altera
parte claudente re publica malis consiliis idem ac bonis

9. *qui, how.* — *togatus* : the *paludamentum* was not assumed till the moment of departure ; Varro was as yet a magistrate engaged in civil business only.

11. *consilia*, etc. : the expression is a shorthand one, and more epigrammatic than clear, since *homines* can hardly ‘ give counsel to circumstances.’ But the proper form, *regere res*, would spoil the antithesis ; cf. Horace, *Ep.* I. i. 19 *et mihi res, non me rebus subiungere conor.* — *optare*, *that he prayed* ; almost always used with religious associations.

12. *id locorum* : used of time, as often in many writers.

13. *sua sponte*, *on the face of it* ; *i.e.* by his speech, without any study of it ; cf. I. 11.

SPEECH OF FABIVS TO PAVLVS.

89. 2. *indicente* : a very rare and apparently colloquial compound of *in* (negative) and *dicens*, like *in-dictus*.

3. *nunc* : *i.e.* as the case is ; see XXI. 40. 3 n. — *malis*, etc. : *i.e.* and the folly of Varro shall have

4 iuris et potestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes; nescio an infestior hic adversarius quam
 5 ille hostis maneat te, et cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus sis certaturus, et adversus Hannibalem legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuis militibus
 6 te sit oppugnaturus. Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flamini memoria; tamen ille consul demum et in provincia et ad exercitum coepit furere; hic, priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem,
 7 insanit. Et qui tantas iam nunc procellas proelia atque acies iactando inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam iuventutem censes facturum et ubi extemplo res verba
 8 sequitur? Atqui si, quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnaverit, aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro aut nobilior alius Trasumenno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus adversus unum est, et ego contemnendo potius quam adpetendo gloriam modum excesserim; sed ita

the same rights and powers as the wisdom of Aemilius.

4. hic: *sc.* Varro, as nearer in fact; see Gr. 102. *a.*

5. sis . . . sit: dependent on nescio an, and thus made co-ordinate with the preceding clause, though really containing the reason of it. — legiones: Livy often applies Roman technical terms to the Carthaginians; cf. *cohors*, XXI. 14. 2; *turmis manipulisque*, 54. 3. — Varro dux tuis, etc.: *e.g.* as Minucius had prejudiced the soldiers of Fabius (12. 12; 14. 4 *seq.*).

6. tamen: *i.e.* though I unwillingly refer to Flaminius on account of the omen, yet, etc. — demum: *i.e.*

not until he was consul, as opposed to Varro, who began much earlier.

7. iactando, by loose talk of. — armatam: emphatically opposed to togatos. — extemplo res, etc.: *i.e.* when there will be an opportunity to carry out at once the rash counsels which he now only expresses in words.

8. atqui, etc.: *i.e.* it is clear that Varro will practice his rash counsels. Now if he does, I can already predict the result.

9. adversus unum, in the presence of a single auditor; as one might do before an assembly. — excesserim, would I wish to overstep. — sed, etc.: *i.e.* though I have

res se habet : una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem est, qua ego gessi. Nec eventus modo hoc docet ¹⁰ — stultorum iste magister est —, sed eadem ratio, quae fuit, futura, donec res eadem manebunt, immutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro ; ¹¹ omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt ; armis viris equis commeatibus iuvant iuvabuntque : id iam fidei ¹² documentum in adversis rebus nostris dederunt ; meliores prudentiores constantiores nos tempus diesque facit ; Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra, inter ¹³ omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo ab patria ; neque illi terra neque mari est pax ; nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nulla moenia ; nihil usquam sui videt ; in diem rapto vivit ; partem vix tertiam exercitus eius ¹⁴ habet quem Hiberum amnem traiecit ; plures fame quam ferro absumpti, nec his paucis iam victus suppe-
ditat. Dubitas ergo quin sedendo superaturi simus eum ¹⁵ qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat ? Quam diu pro Gereoni, castelli ¹⁶ Apuliae inopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis moenibus sedet ! Sed ne adversus te quidem de me gloriabor : Servilius atque Atilius, próximos consules, vide quem ad ¹⁷ modum eum ludificati sint. Haec una salutis est via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi magis

the reasons mentioned for not saying it, yet the fact is so and it must be said.

10. *stultorum*, etc. : *i.e.* it is only *fools* who need that lesson ; hence the emphasis. For the sentiment cf. *Il.* 17. 32 *πεχθὲν δὲ τε νῆπιος ἔγνω*. — *ratio*, *reason*, as opposed to experience, just referred to.

11. *iuvant*: *omnia* is the grammatical, but *cives et socii* the real subject.

13. *inter omnia*, etc. : cf. *XXI.* 32. 9 n. — *sui* : partitive genitive instead of *suum* in agreement. — *in diem* : belonging to *rapto vivit* together, but with special reference to *rapto* ; cf. 40. 8.

15. *senescat*, *grows weaker*.

16. *ne adversus*, etc. : just the opposite turn of thought to that in 9, but with equal propriety, for if he boasted before Aemilius he would be in no danger of being misunderstood.

- 18 quam hostes facient. Idem enim tui quod hostium milites volent, idem Varro consul Romanus quod Hannibal Poenus imperator cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet. Resistes autem, si adversus famam rumoresque hominum satis firmus steteris, si te neque collegae vana gloria neque tua falsa infamia moverit.
- 19 Veritatem laborare nimis saepe aiunt, exstingui numquam: vanam gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit.
- 20 Sine timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli vocent: malo te sapiens hostis metuat quam stulti cives laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem metuet. Nec ego ut nihil agatur moneo, sed ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna; tuae potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis; neque occasione
- 22 tuae desis neque suam occasionem hosti des. Omnia non properanti clara certaue erunt; festinatio improvida est et caeca.
- 40 Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane laeta fuit, magis fatentis ea quae diceret vera quam facilia factu esse. Dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse:

18. *oportet*, it rests upon you; not exactly like *necesse est*, nor on the other hand the ordinary force of *oportet*, but apparently a more primary meaning of the word.

19. *laborare*, is eclipsed, with a conscious figure. — *nimis*: this word is not necessary for the exact opposition with *numquam*, but gives a pathetic turn to the thought.

20. *timidum pro*, etc.: cf. 12. 12.

21. *ratio, fortuna*: cf. 18. 8. — *tuae potestatis*, etc.: i.e. keep under your control, not slacken your hold for a moment, as ex-

plained in *armatus*, etc. — *suam*: for the reflexive see Gr. 196. c. N.

22. *clara certaue*: an alliteration found in several authors and periods. With many Latin writers, Livy had a fondness for this kind of assonance; in this chapter note *auribus animis* (2), *ratio res* (10), *sede solo* (11), *fame ferro* (14), *audentem agentem* (20).

REPLY OF PAULUS.

40. *haud sane laeta*, not very hopeful. — *fatentis*: cf. *denuntiantis*, 38. 6.

2. *intolerabilem*: cf. 27. 1.

quid consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare incendium priore consulatu semustum effugisse; optare ut omnia prospere evenirent; sed si quid adversi caderet, hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium caput obiecturum.

Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt prosequentibus primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, cum dignitates deessent. Vt in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne robur virium esset, consulum anni prioris M. Atilium aetatem excusantem Romam miserunt, Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium peditum equitumque duobus milibus praeficiunt. Hannibal quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. Non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus superabat, sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto, ut vix decem dierum, quod compertum postea est, frumentum superesset,

3. *semustum*: cf. *ambustus*, 35. 3 n. — *optare*: cf. 38. 11 n.

DEPARTURE FOR THE FIELD.

4. *ab*, immediately after. — *prosequentibus*, escorted by. — *sua*: the reflexive pronoun, because *consulem* is the real subject of discourse; see Gr. 196. c. — *turba*, etc.: i.e. his escort was more impressive with respect to its size merely, for the lack of distinguished citizens (*dignitates*) was felt. —

conspectior: cf. *conspiciebantur*, XXI. 4. 8. — *dignitates*: the plural of abstract nouns for the concrete is less unusual in Livy than in the earlier prose writers; cf. *servitia*, 57. 11; *alitudines*, XXI. 30. 6; *frigora*, XXI. 58. 1.

5. *in castra*: apparently in the same place as before; see 24. 1. — *ut*, in such a manner that.

6. *aetatem excusantem*, alleging his age as an excuse.

7. *dimidia*, etc., increased by half.

Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum exspectata foret.

- 41 Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis praedatoribus tumultuario proelio ac procursu magis militum quam ex praeparato aut iussu imperatorum orto haud-
 2 quaquam par Poenis dimicatio fuit. Ad mille et septingenti caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu
 3 insidiarum obstitit Paulus consul, cuius eo die — nam alternis imperitabant — imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante emissum hostem e manibus debellari-
 4 que, ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum haud aegerrime pati; quin potius credere velut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime
 5 militum esse. Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas
 6 prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proxima nihil praeter arma ferente secum milite castra plena omnis fortunae publicae privataeque relinquit

9. *parata fuerit*, etc.: this mixed construction, uniting in one an apodosis and a result, is a natural consequence of the method of growth of the contrary-to-fact condition. Hannibal might have said, *parata est, si . . . exspectata sit*, 'if we wait to give them time, they are all ready to desert.' This, thrown into past time, becomes *parata fuit, si . . . esset (foret)*; thus a contrary-to-fact suggestion arises in the protasis, and then *fuit* becomes *fuerit* after the *ut*.

SKIRMISHING BETWEEN THE LINES.

41. *consulis*: Varro, of course, though he has not been mentioned.

— *materiam, fuel.* — *ac*: cf. *atque*, 6. 11 n. — *ex praeparato*, by any plan; Livy often joins prepositions to perfect participles used as abstract nouns; cf. *in aperto*, 4. 3; *ad destinatum*, XXI. 54. 6. — *orto*: qualifying *proelio* and explained by the intervening words.

2. *plus*: with no effect on the construction; see Gr. 247. c.

3. *alternis*: sc. *diebus*, from *eo die*; cf. *diebus alternis*, 27. 6.

4. *inescatam*, lured on; properly of animals enticed by bait; *velut* is a kind of apology for the figure.

6. *omnis fortunae*, all their wealth.

transque proximos montis laeva pedites instructos con- 7
 dit, dextra equites, impedimenta per convallem mediam
 traducit, ut diripiendis velut desertis fuga dominorum 8
 castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret.
 Crebri relictī in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse 9
 longius spatium fuga praeciperet, falsa imagine castro-
 rum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere
 in locis consules voluisse.

Vbi inlucit, subductae primo stationes, deinde pro- 42
 pius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem fecit.
 Tum satis comperta solitudine in castris concursus fit 2
 ad praetoria consulū nuntiantium fugam hostiū adeo
 trepidam ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint,
 quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos
 ignis. Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri iuberent 3
 ducerentque ad persequendos hostis ac protinus castra
 diripienda. Et consul alter velut unus turbae militaris
 erat; Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum 4
 praecavendumque esse; postremo, cum aliter neque
 seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset,
 Mariū Statiliū praefectum cum turma Lucana explo-
 ratum mittit. Qui ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere 5
 extra munimenta ceteris iussis ipse cum duobus equiti-
 bus vallum intravit, speculatusque omnia cum cura re-
 nuntiat insidias profecto esse: ignes in parte castrorum 6

9. *praeciperet, get in advance.*
 — *sicut, etc.*: *i.e.* he now pretends
 to practice a ruse, as he had really
 practiced one with Fabius, though
 the circumstances were very differ-
 ent; see cc. 16–18.

HANNIBAL'S RUSE DETECTED.

42. *subductae stationes, the*
fact that the pickets had been with-

drawn; see XXI. 1. 5 n. — *adeun-*
tibus: the scouting parties of the
 Romans.

2. *praetoria*: each consul had
 his own headquarters. — *nuntian-*
tium: to be joined with *concur-*
sus; cf. *pugnantium*, XXI. 29. 2 n.

3. *unus turbae*: the ablative
 with *de* or *ex* is the regular partitive
 construction with *unus*.

4. *sustinere*, hold out against.

- quae vergat in hostem relictos; tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relicta; argentum quibusdam locis temere per vias velut obiectum ad praedam vidisse.
- 7 Quae ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux defuit:
- 8 nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi. Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque auspicio non addixissent, nuntiari iam efferenti porta signa collegae
- 9 iussit. Quod quamquam Varro aegre est passus, Flaminii tamen recens casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades religionem animo
- 10 incussit. Di prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere imminentem pestem Romanis: nam forte ita evenit ut, cum referri signa in castra iubenti consuli
- 11 milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis, qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos; deductique ad consules nuntiant omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos
- 12 montes sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules imperii potentes fecit, cum ambitio alterius

6. *cara*, *valuable*s; cf. *caris res*, XXI. 60. 9.

7. *ituros*: *sc. se*; cf. *moturum*, XXI. 12. 4 n. — *Varro*: he had the *imperium* that day.

8. *auspicio*: apparently an ablative of time. — *non addixissent*: *i.e.* the sacred chickens, consulted according to custom, did not give a favorable omen to *approve* the action. — *nuntiari*: the technical word is *obnuntio*. The taking of the auspices by Aemilius seems to have been somewhat irregular, but he still had apparently the right to *take them*, though his act might not

be conclusive. — *porta*: for the ablative see Gr. 258. g.

9. *Claudi*, etc.: the famous case in which P. Claudius Pulcher, in 249 B.C., off Drepana, had thrown the chickens overboard, saying that they should drink anyway, if they wouldn't eat.

10. *di*, etc.: the gods acted by producing the events described in *nam forte*, etc. — *distulere*: they only *postponed* it, because the disaster soon happened at Cannae.

12. *consules . . . fecit*, *re-established the consuls in the dignity and authority of their office*. — *ambitio*, *desire for popularity*; *i.e.*

suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia maiestatem solvisset.

Hannibal postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos **43** quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequiquam detecta fraude in castra rediit. Ibi plures dies propter ² inopiam frumenti manere nequit, novaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex conluvia omni-um gentium sed etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio ³ fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum querentium-que annonam primo, postremo famem, et mercennarios milites maxime Hispani generis de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset, ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de ⁴ fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut relicto peditatu omni cum equitibus se proriperet. Cum haec consilia ⁵ atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliae loca, simul quod, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia impeditiora levibus ingeniis essent. Profectus est nocte ignibus similiter factis taber- ⁶ naculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par

with the soldiers. — *suam* : the reflexive is used as if Livy had said *alter ambitiosus*. — *primum* : *i.e.* Varro's authority was first sacrificed, and it is intimated that Aemilius' also was lost. — *eos* : the soldiers implied in *imperii* and *ambitio*.

HANNIBAL RETIRES TO APULIA.

43. *nequiquam rediit, he returned without success*, because his plan was discovered.

2. in *dies* : as this form is used only with comparative ideas, it may be meant that more and more new designs were hatched every day.

3. *annonam, the high price of*

grain. — *primo, postremo* : the superlatives imply other complaints. — *famem, absolute want*; no grain at any price.

5. *movere, etc.* : according to Polybius (III. 107) Hannibal advanced to Cannae, occupying its citadel and seizing the stores of the Romans, before the arrival of the new consuls. — *levibus ingeniis, fickle natures*, such as the Gauls and Spaniards were always said to be.

6. *similiter* : *i.e.* as in the last attempted ruse. — *ut insidiarum, etc.* : this time Hannibal wished to delay the Romans, and so he repeated his stratagem, meaning to have it taken in the opposite sense from the last.

- 7 priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed per eundem
 Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque
 montis exploratis cum relatum esset visum procul hos-
 tium agmen, tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari
 8 coepta. Cum utriusque consulis eadem quae ante sem-
 per fuisset sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo
 nemo praeter Servilium prioris anni consulem adsen-
 9 tiretur, maioris partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade
 10 Romana Cannas urgente fato profecti sunt. Prope
 eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Voltur-
 vento, qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit.
 11 Id cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare
 praecipue futurum erat, cum aciem derigerent, ipsi
 aversi, terga tantum adflante vento, in occaecatum pul-
 vere effuso hostem pugnaturi.
- 44 Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum,
 ut ventum ad Cannas est et in conspectu Poenum habe-
 bant, bina castra communiunt eodem ferme intervallo
 2 quo ad Gereonium, sicut ante copiis divis. Aufidus

7. Statilium: see 42. 4.

9. sententia: according to the vote of the council of war in which Aemilius was voted down. Luchs and others insert *ex* before *sententia*; see Gr. 253. N. — Cannas: a village of Apulia, on the Aufidus (Ofanto) near its mouth. — urgente fato, driven by fate; the words are from Vergil, *Aen.* II. 653; see *insuperabili*, XXI. 23. 4 n.

10. Hannibal, etc.: Livy gives no account of Hannibal's going there, except loosely in 5. — Volturmo, the Sirocco; a hot wind blowing powerfully from the southeast, especially in May and June. The camp thus faced northwest. Nothing is said as to which side of the river, but it seems evident that

Livy thought of the south side as the place of the principal camps, and the north side as the place of the battle. For a clear discussion of the difficult question, with maps and plans, based on a study of the documents and a personal examination of the terrain itself, see Dodge's *Hannibal*, chap. XXVII. — campis: cf. *via*, I. 12 n.

THE BATTLE OF CANNAE.

44. bina castra: these were on opposite sides of the river, the smaller one on the north bank. — intervallo: Polybius says the smaller Roman camp was about ten stades from the larger, and a little further from the enemy.

amnis utrisque castris adfluens aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat ; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum ³ erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium. Hannibal spem ⁴ nactus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, derigit aciem lacessitque Numidarum procursatione hostis. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia ⁵ consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro Paulo speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret, testareturque deos hominesque hic, nullam penes se ⁶ culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam velut usu cepisset Italiam : se constrictum a collega teneri ; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus ; ille, ⁷ si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret : videret ut, quibus lingua prompta ac temeraria, aequae in pugna vigerent manus.

2. *utrisque*: of the Romans; cf. *ex minoribus*, etc., in 3.

3. *trans Aufidum*: *i.e.* on the north bank.—*quia*, etc.: because the Carthaginian camp was on the south side.

4. *natis*, etc.: because the whole of Apulia, though high, is very level, and especially just here not far from the coast. With *natis ad pugnam* cf. *natus legendis insidiis*, 28. 6.—*invictus*: cf. *memorata*, 7. 1 n.

5. *Paulus*, etc.: *i.e.* each consul reproached the other with disasters received under a form of strategy similar to the one approved by his colleague.

6. *testaretur*, etc.: Varro went farther, and charged the whole success of Hannibal to the feeble policy of the other party.—*usu cepisset*, *had gained by prescription*. By the Twelve Tables an undisturbed possession for two years gave a title, and Hannibal had now been in Italy two years.

7. *ille*, etc.: *i.e.* Aemilius washed his hands of all responsibility, but would share the fortunes of the rest.—*videret*, *let his colleague take care*.—*quibus*, etc.: *sc. esset*, implied in *vigerent*, which is equivalent to an adjective with *essent*.—*lingua prompta*: cf. *lingua promptum*, II. 45. 15.

45 Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus
 teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat
 instructam, cum in castra ceteras reciperet copias,
 2 Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romano-
 3 rum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam
 turbam cum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu
 fugassent, in stationem quoque pro vallo locatam atque
 4 ipsas prope portas evecti sunt. Id vero adeo indignum
 visum, ab tumultuario auxilio iam etiam castra Romana
 terreri, ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent
 flumen derigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod
 5 summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit. Itaque
 postero die Varro, cui sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil
 consulto collega signum proposuit instructasque copias
 flumen traduxit, sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare
 6 quam non adiuvere consilium poterat. Transgressi
 flumen eas quoque quas in castris minoribus habuerant
 copias suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem: in dex-
 tro cornu — id erat flumini propius — Romanos equites

45. *ad multum diei*, till late in the day; see XXI. 33. 7 n.

2. *ex minoribus*, etc.: a kind of adjective phrase to *aquatores*; see XXI. 15. 6 n.

3. *evecti sunt*, they dashed ahead.

4. *tumultuario auxilio*, skirmishing auxiliaries; so called from the Roman standpoint, as not, like the solid native legions, fitted for regular pitched battle, but only for raids, and the like. The singular of *auxilium* is very rare in this concrete sense. — *ne transirent*, from crossing; see Gr. 331. c. 2. — *fuerit*: Luchs and others read *fuit*, but the clause is essential to *ea causa tenuerit*, etc.; cf. *vicissent*, XXI. 40. 2 n., and see Gr. 342, with footnote.

5. *sors*, etc.: governing *imperii*

immediately, while *diei* limits the two combined. — *nihil consulto collega*, without consulting his colleague at all. — *signum*: the red flag, the signal for battle.

6. *ita instruunt*, etc.: the river here flows nearly northeast; and as Varro's right was nearest the river, his line must have run northerly and faced to the east. This would seem to bring the sun in the eyes of the Romans, whereas it is stated that the sun was *obliquus* (46. 8), i.e. shone along the two lines. We must suppose, then, that in the final position the lines were nearly parallel with the river, with the Carthaginians nearest to it. There seems to be no bend in the river sufficiently large to contain the two armies so as to have the river on

locant, deinde pedites; laevum cornu extremi equites 7 sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt; iaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxilliis prima acies facta. Consules cornua 8 tenere, Terentius laevum, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

Hannibal luce prima Baliaribus levique alia armatura 46 praemissa transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat, Gallos Hispanosque equites prope 2 ripam laevo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum, media acie 3 peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros 4 Romanam [magna ex parte] crederes aciem: ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasumennum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem 5 formae fere erant, dispaes ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesim adsueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Ante alios habitus gentium harum

the east of them.—*deinde*: local; see 4. 2 n.

7. *ad medium*, etc.: perhaps overlapping the legions, inasmuch as Polybius represents the lines as thicker than usual; but *iuncti* may merely mean *standing next*. — *facta*: attracted by *acies*; see Gr. 204. b.

8. *tenuere*, commanded. — *pugna*: by a natural association equivalent to *acies*.

46. *ut quosque*, etc.: *i.e.* he marshaled the detachments in the order in which they crossed.

3. *firmata*, composed of; cf. XXI. 56. 2. — *utraque cornua*: referring only to the infantry. The plural is irregular; cf. *utraque* (*Ariovisti*

uxores) in *ea fuga perierunt*, Caes. B. G. I. 53.

4. *Afros*: *i.e.* his heavy foot-soldiers. As Polybius says they were all thus armed, the bracketed words have doubtless been inserted from the next line. — *ita*: used as *adeo* often is, to explain a previous statement, as if it were *ita armati erant ut crederes*. — *ceterum*: instead of a second *et*; cf. XXI. 18. 4 n.

5. *scuta*: the oblong curved shield known to us from Roman monuments, as opposed to the round shield (*clipeus*) of the Greeks and the light-armed troops. — *praelongi*, etc.: broad swords, not intended for thrusting, but only for

- cum magnitudine corporum tum specie terribilis erat :
 6 Galli super umbilicum erant nudi ; Hispani linteis prae-
 textis purpura tunicis candore miro fulgentibus consti-
 terant. Numerus omnium peditum, qui tum stetere in
 7 acie, milium fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces
 cornibus praeerant sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal ;
 mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit.
 8 Sol, seu de industria ita locatis seu quod forte ita stetere,
 peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis in
 9 meridiem, Poenis in septemtrionem versis ; ventus —
 Volturnum regionis incolae vocant — adversus Romanis
 coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum
 ademit.
- 47 Clamore sublato procursum ab auxiliis et pugna levi-
 bus primum armis commissa ; deinde equitum Gallorum
 Hispanorumque laevum cornu cum dextro Romano con-
 2 currit, minime equestris more pugnae: frontibus enim
 adversis concurrendum erat, quia nullo circa ad eva-
 gandum relicto spatio hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies
 3 claudebant. In directum utrimque nitentes stantibus
 ac confertis postremo turba equis vir virum amplexus
 detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna iam ex parte certa-

cutting, while the others, though short, were used for thrusting, like the modern rapier.

6. *nudi*: this would give them a savage and desperate look. — *praetextis purpura*: *i.e.* with a crimson border.

7. *Hasdrubal*: cf. 16. 8. — *Maharbal*: cf. 51. 2.

8. *sol*, etc.: the fight took place in the early morning when the sun was in the east, loosely speaking.

9. *Volturnum*: see 43. 10 n.

47. *minime . . . pugnae*: the usual method of fighting with cavalry was by rapid manœuvres, charg-

ing and retreating and making various flank movements, but here there was no room for such tactics, and the cavalry could only advance in solid body against each other like infantry.

3. in *directum*, *straight ahead*.

— *stantibus*: *i.e.* stopping, unable to advance. — *turba*: ablative of manner. — *vir*: in apposition with *nitentes*. — *detrahebat*: attracted into agreement with the distributive *vir*. — *pedestre*: *i.e.* by the men dismounting. — *tamen*: *i.e.* notwithstanding the stubborn resistance indicated in the preceding.

men factum erat ; acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt. Sub eques- 4 tris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna, primo et viribus et animis par, dum constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque ; tandem Romani, diu ac saepe conisi, obliqua 5 fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie. Impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem institere, 6 ac tenore uno per praeceps pavore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem inlati postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque 7 reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut 8 pulsus aequavit frontem primum, dein cedendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant, irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas, mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostis. Hinc Romani defuncti nequiquam proelio uno, omissis 9 Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam, 10 quod inclusi adversus circumfusos, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

— *diutius* : comparative, according to the regular idiom ; see Gr. 192.

4. *dum*, but only so long as ; hence the tense of *constabant* ; see Gr. 276. *e.* note.

5. *obliqua fronte* : *i.e.* in a kind of wedge, probably like the formation *en échelon*. — *densa* : *i.e.* as they aimed at a particular point the line was gradually thickened there. — *cuneum* : *i.e.* a curved line projecting from the front.

6. *impulsis* : the enemy, of course. — *tenore uno* : see 37.

10 n. — in *mediam*, etc. : *i.e.* they forced their way through the bulging first line to the second, which was apparently straight. — *ad subsidia* : *i.e.* to a place in a line with the somewhat retired heavy African infantry.

8. *pulsus* : cf. *amissae*, XXI. 1. 5 n. — *sinum* : *i.e.* the center was even driven in farther back than the wings. — *cornua* : *i.e.* they made a crescent-shaped body to inclose the advancing Romans. — *alas* : the same as *cornua*, above. — *cornua* : the extremes of the infantry stationed in the crescent.

- 48 Iam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites
adversus Numidas steterant, consertum proelium erat,
2 segne primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti
ferme Numidae, praeter solita arma telaque gladios
occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum cum
3 ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, re-
pente ex equis desiliunt, parmisque et iaculis ante pedes
hostium proiectis in mediam aciem accepti ductique ad
ultimos considerare ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum proelium
4 ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt; postquam
omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum
arreptis scutis, quae passim inter acervos caesorum cor-
porum strata erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem,
tergaque ferientes ac poplites caedentes stragem in-
gentem ac maiorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum
5 fecerunt. Cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in
mala iam spe proelium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte
praeerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia segnis
eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim
6 fugientis mittit, Hispanos et Gallos equites Afris prope
iam fessis caede magis quam pugna adiungit.
- 49 Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quamquam primo statim
2 proelio funda graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit

48. a, *with*; as regularly with verbs of beginning. — *fraude*: this story is not mentioned by Polybius, and is probably a Roman invention.

3. in *mediam aciem*, into the lines, but not necessarily at the center. — *conseritur*: the idiomatic present with *dum*; cf. the imperfect *constabant*, 47. 4 n.

5. *alibi terror*: *i.e.* on the Roman right (47. 3). — *alibi pertinax*, etc.: *i.e.* at the center. — *in, in spite of*. — *ea parte*: this seems

to have nothing to refer to. Hasdrubal was in command on the Carthaginian left, and there is no indication in Livy that he went around the Roman rear. — *ex media acie*: this also is confused, as the Numidians were on the right wing. Perhaps the words only mean from the main fight. The movements are very different, but clear, in Polybius (III. 116).

49. *parte altera*: apparently at the center (46. 7), though there is nothing definite opposed to it.

saepe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. Tum denuntianti cuidam, iussisse 3 consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt 'Quam malle[m] vinctos mihi traderet.' Equitum pedestre proelium, quale iam haud dubia 4 hostium victoria, fuit, cum victi mori in vestigio mallerent quam fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen 5 iam paucos superantis et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt equosque ad fugam qui poterant repetebant. Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum 6 cum praetervehens equo sedentem in saxo crurore oppletum consulem vidisset, 'L. Aemili,' inquit 'quem 7 unum insontem culpae cladis hodiernae dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid superest et comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam 8 sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctusque est.' Ad ea consul: 9 'Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto; sed cave frustra miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium evadendi absumas. Abi, nuntia publice patribus, urbem 10

2. *omissis*, etc.: *i.e.* they dismounted to be on a par with the consul; cf. *arma omittenda*, XXI. 58. 3.—*et, even*; Livy rather frequently uses this word with the intensive force of *etiam* or *vel*.

3. *denuntianti, reporting*; there is a suggestion of formality, and that the communication was an important one.—*ferunt*: even Livy is skeptical about the reality of this scene.—*quam malle[m]*, etc.: ironical for 'that is as good as if' etc.

4. *quale*: *sc. fit*, or the like.—

victoria: ablative.—*pellere, force to flee*.

5. *pepulerunt tamen, yet they did finally*, etc.—*superantis, the survivors*.

6. *praetervehens*: this word is so often used as a deponent that the active participle takes on that sense.

7. *quem unum, you the one man whom*.

9. *tu quidem*: it is a mannerism of the language to attach the concessive to pronouns.

Romanam muniant ac, priusquam victor hostis advenit, praesidiis firment; privatim Q. Fabio, L. Aemilium praec-
 11 ceptorum eius memorem et vixisse adhuc et mori. Me in hac strage militum meorum patere exspirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim aut accusator collegae existam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam prote-
 12 gam.' Haec eos agentis prius turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes oppressere; consulem, ignorantes quis esset, obruere telis, Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit
 13 equus. Tum undique effuse fugiunt. Septem milia hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt, qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus nullo munimento tegente
 14 vicum circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium insertus agmini, cum quinqua-
 15 ginta fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit. Quadraginta quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo milia septingenti equites et tantadem prope civium sociorumque pars
 16 caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetorique et aedilicii — inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot
 17 annis ante consul fuerat —, octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent unde in

11. *reus*: as he might be for misfeasance in office on account of the disaster. — *iterum*: see 35. 3 n. — *accusator*: as he might be obliged to be, to justify himself.

12. *oppressere*, *overtook*.

14. *insertus*, *entangled*. — *Venusiam*: about thirty miles southwest of Cannae, distinguished later as the birthplace of Horace.

15. *et tantadem*: Madvig's emendation of the MS. *etanta*.

16. *undetriginta*: out of forty-eight, the full quota for the eight legions. — *consulares* . . . *aedilicii*: in apposition with *tribuni militum*. — *ante*: in 221 B.C.

17. *qui eos*, etc.: *i.e.* who had held curule offices, but had not yet been chosen into the senate by the censors under the Ovinian Law. —

senatum legi deberent, cum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria milia 18 peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

Haec est pugna Cannensis, Aliensi cladi nobilitate 50 par, ceterum uti eis quae post pugnam accidere levior, 2 quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage exercitus gravior foediorque. Fuga namque ad Aliam sicut urbem pro- 3 didit, ita exercitum servavit; ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix quinquaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.

Binis in castris cum multitudo semiermis sine ducibus 4 esset, nuntium qui in maioribus erant mittunt, dum proelio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canusium abituros esse. Eam sententiam alii totam asper- 5 nari: cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire, cum aequae coniungi possent? Quia videlicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent, et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent obicere. Aliis non tam 6 sententia displicere quam animus deesse. Tum P. Sempronius Tuditanus tribunus militum 'Capi ergo mavultis' inquit 'ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, aestimarique capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus Romanus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut ex tua

cum, and yet, notwithstanding their previous eminence. — **sua**: with patriotic pride Livy emphasizes his statement that so many dignitaries had enlisted as common soldiers.

THE VANQUISHED.

50. **Aliensi**: i.e. the battle of the Allia, in 390 B.C., after which Rome was taken by the Gauls.

3. **alterius morientis fuit**: a poetical expression for 'died with

him'; they stayed with Paulus, as opposed to **secuti sunt**.

4. **nuntium mittunt**, send word; for the following constructions cf. 33. 9 n. — **ex laetitia epulis**: cf. *pugna ad Trebiam*, XXI. 15. 6 n.

5. **alii**: opposed to **aliis** in 6. — **aeque**, just as well (in that way).

6. **capita**: cf. *deminuti capite*, 66. 15. — **Romanus**, etc.: the honor of having a Roman for a slave would be greater.

7 contumelia et miseria alteri honos quaeratur? Non tu,
 si quidem L. Aemili consulis, qui se bene mori quam
 turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum virorum, qui
 8 circa eum cumulati iacent, cives estis. Sed antequam
 opprimit lux maioraque hostium agmina obsaepiunt iter,
 per hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi obstrepunt
 9 portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque audacia via fit quamvis
 per confertos hostis. Cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque
 solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstat, disicias. Itaque ite
 mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et rem publicam salvam vul-
 10 tis.' Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque
 11 facto per medios vadit hostis; et cum in latus dextrum,
 quod patebat, Numidae iacularentur, translatis in dex-
 trum scutis in maiora castra ad sescentos evaserunt,
 atque inde protinus alio magno agmine adiuncto Canu-
 12 sium incolumes perveniunt. Haec apud victos magis
 impetu animorum, quem ingenium suum cuique aut fors
 dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cuiusquam
 agebantur.

51 Hannibali victori cum ceteri circumfusi gratularen-
 tur suaderentque ut, tanto perfunctus bello, diei quod

7. *tu*: continuing the individual appeal begun above (*Romanus*, etc.); *cives estis*: resuming the general address with which Sempronius began (*navultis*, etc.). — *cives*, *fellow-citizens*; the usual meaning with a possessive pronoun or a genitive of the name of a person; cf. *civis vester*, XXI. 13. 1.

8. *opprimit*: see Gr. 327. a.

9. *quamvis*: join with *confer-
 tos*. — *disicias*: with an indefinite subject.

10. *haec . . . cuneoque*: the hexameter may possibly be from some early poet, but more probably slipped from Livy unawares (Cic. Or. 56. 189 *versus saepe in oratione*

per imprudentiam dicimus). The first four words occur in Lucilius, and seven times in the *Aeneid*. Livy begins his history (*Praef.* 1) with the beginning of a hexameter (*Facturusne operae pretium sim*), and the first sentence in the Annals of Tacitus is a complete one (*Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere*).

11. *protinus*, *continuing on*.

12. *impetu animorum*, *courageous impulse*. — *cuiusquam*: this pronoun is used because of the negative idea implied.

THE VICTORS.

51. *ceteri*: opposed to *Maharbal* in 2. — *bello*: much stronger

reliquum esset noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis daret militibus, Maharbal, praefectus 2 equitum, minime cessandum ratus 'Immo, ut quid hæc pugna sit actum scias, die quinto' inquit 'victor in Capitolio epulaberis. Sequere; cum equite, ut prius venisse quam venturum sciant, praecedam.' Hannibali 3 nimis laeta res est visa maiorque quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. Itaque voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis ait; ad consilium pensandum temporis opus esse. Tum Maharbal: 'Non omnia nimirum eidem di 4 dedere: vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti nescis.' Mora eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio.

Postero die, ubi primum inluxit, ad spolia legenda foe- 5 damque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem insistunt.

than *pugna*, as if with this victory the war was ended; cf. 55. 2. — *noctis quietem*: cf. *dierum quietem*, XXI. 11. 3.

2. *Maharbal*, etc.: it appears from Gellius (X. 24) that Livy's authority for this scene is Coelius, who himself borrowed from the version in Cato's *Origines* (*dictatore Carthaginiensium magister equitum monuit, 'Mitte mecum Romam equitatum; die quinti in Capitolio tibi cena cocta erit'*): see Introd. 10. — *venisse, venturum*: sc. *te*; see *moturum*, XXI. 12. 4 n.

3. *capere animo*, realize. — *temporis*: a very rare construction; cf. *lectionis opus est*, Quint. XII. 3. 8, and see Gr. 243. f. R.

4. *mora*, etc.: cf. Florus, I. 22. 19 *dubium non erit quin ultimum illum diem habitura fuerit Roma quintumque intra diem epulari Hannibal in Capitolio potuerit, si, . . . quem ad modum sciret vincere, sic uti victoria scisset. Sed tum quidem illum, ut dici volgo solet,*

aut fatum urbis imperaturae aut ipsius mens mala et aversi a Carthagine di in diversum abstulerunt; Plutarch (*Fab.* 17) ascribes Hannibal's delay to some divine influence; Juvenal (7. 161) says the Roman school-boys discussed Hannibal's duty in the premises. At first thought it seems as if Hannibal might have annihilated Rome, and thus have given a Carthaginian character to European civilization. But we may well believe that the great commander judged wisely; his main reliance was upon his cavalry, and this would have availed him little in a siege of the strongly fortified capital; he had not succeeded in seriously weakening the allegiance of Rome's allies and colonies, and he fully appreciated the determined spirit and military genius of his foes. — *saluti*, the salvation.

5. *ad spolia legenda*: a construction otherwise unknown, instead of the usual dative or infinitive, with *insisto*.

- 6 Iacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites passim equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna iunxerat aut fuga. Adsurgentes quidam ex strage media cruenti, quos stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi
 7 sunt; quosdam et iacentis vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque invenerunt, nudantis cervicem iugulumque et
 8 reliquum sanguinem iubentes haurire; inventi quidam sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas obruentisque ora superiecta humo inter-
 9 cluisse spiritum apparebat. Praecipue convertit omnes subtractus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus naso aëribusque laceratis, cum ille manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus in rabiem ira versa laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset.
- 52 Spoliis ad multum diei lectis Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda et omnium primum brachio
 2 obiecto flumine eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus labore vigiliis vulneribus etiam fessis maturior ipsius spe
 3 deditio est facta. Pacti, ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecentis nummis quadrigatis, in socios

6. *iacebant*: the position and tense of the verb give great vividness and a kind of tone to the ghastly picture; cf. *stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi iuvenes*, II. 5. 5.—*ut quem cuique*, etc.: *i.e.* not in their regular lines, but as individuals had happened to be fighting or flying.—*stricta*, *smarting*, though the Latin gives the cause rather than the effect.

7. *et iacentis*: opposed to *adsurgentes*; these could not rise.

9. *convertit omnes*, *drew the attention of all*.—*vivus*: this word is not emphatic at the end of the phrase, as has been sometimes thought. The sense is, 'there was on the ground a Numidian with a

Roman lying on him. He was still alive, but with his nose, etc., where the Roman, finding his hands powerless, etc., had expired, etc.'—*naso*: *i.e.* the Numidian's.

CAPITULATION. ESCAPE OF SOME TO CANUSIUM.

52. *ad multum diei*: cf. 45. 1 n.—*brachio*, *a piece of wall*.—*flumine*: the Aufidus; see 44. 2.

2. *omnibus*: the Romans.—*etiam*: postpositive, as not infrequently in Livy; cf. 7; XXI. 54. 7.—*ipsius*: Hannibal.

3. *in capita*, etc.: *i.e.* so much apiece for their ransom.—*nummis quadrigatis*: silver denarii, stamped

ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostis acceperunt, traditque in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea cum ex 4 maioribus castris, quibus satis virium et animi fuit, ad quattuor milia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem condicione qua altera tradita hosti. Praeda in- 5 gens parta est, et praeter equos virosque et si quid argenti — quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat, nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur — omnis cetera praeda diripienda data est. Tum 6 sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit. Ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.

Eos qui Canusium perfugerant mulier Apula, nomine 7 Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, moenibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento veste viatico etiam iuvit, pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habiti sunt.

Ceterum cum ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Q. 58 Fabius Maximus de legione prima, cuius pater priore

with a representation of Jupiter and a four-in-hand (*quadriga*); for the ablative, see XXI. 61. 11 n. — *singulis*, etc.: *i.e.* merely in their tunics; cf. 6. 11.

4. *hominum* = *peditum*; cf. XXI. 27. 1, *equites virique*. — *agmine*, in a body.

5. *quod plurimum*, most of which. — in *phaleris equorum*: cf. Juvenal, 11. 102 *magnum artificum frangebant pocula miles, ut phaleris gauderet equus*. — *ad ves-*

cendum facto: *i.e.* table-ware. — *utique*: however they might do at home, in the field, at any rate, they used very little.

6. *consulem*, etc.: cf. 7. 5 n.

7. *tantum*: *i.e.* the city only afforded them protection and shelter.

HEROISM OF YOUNG SCIPIO.

58. *de, of*; the language is gradually expressing relations more and more by prepositions instead of

2 anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secunda L. Publicius
 Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio et de legione tertia Ap.
 3 Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime aedilis fuerat, omnium
 consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum adulescentem et ad
 4 Ap. Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus consul-
 tantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P.
 Furius Philus, consularis viri filius, nequiquam eos per-
 ditam spem fovere, desperatam comploratamque rem
 5 esse publicam: nobiles iuvenes quosdam, quorum prin-
 cipem M. Caecilium Metellum, mare ac naves spectare
 6 ut deserta Italia ad regum aliquem transfugiant. Quod
 malum, praeterquam atrox super tot clades etiam novum,
 cum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset, qui aderant,
 et consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat con-
 siliū rem esse Scipio iuvenis, fatalis dux huiusce belli.
 7 Audendum atque agendum, non consultandum ait in
 tanto malo esse: irent secum extemplo armati, qui rem
 8 publicam salvam vellent; nulla verius quam ubi ea
 9 cogitentur hostium castra esse. Pergit ire sequentibus
 paucis in hospitium Metelli, et cum concilium ibi iu-
 venum, de quibus adlatum erat, invenisset, stricto super
 10 capita consultantium gladio 'Ex mei animi sententia'.

case endings (Gr., note on p. 205);
 cf. *sub condicionibus iis*, XXI. 12.
 4; *ad artes rudis*, 25. 6; *redierat
 ab Roma*, 59. 2.

3. *admodum adulescentem*:
 about nineteen years old; see XXI.
 46. 8.

4. *comploratam*, given up for
 lost; the figure is from a dying man.

6. *praeterquam . . . etiam*: oc-
 casionally used by Livy instead of
praeterquam quod with a verb, or
non modo . . . sed etiam; see Kühn-
 ast, *Liv. Syntax*², p. 355. — *no-
 vum*: i.e. an unexpected blow
 of a different character coming on

top of their many calamities. —
stupore ac miraculo: a kind of
 hendiadys, where the same thing is
 viewed subjectively and objectively.
 — *torpidos*: i.e. *ita ut torpidi es-
 sent*; cf. *immobiles defixi*, XXI.
 33. 3. — *negat*: in the emphatic
 first place to enforce the negative,
 as if it were *non consilii, inquit*, etc.

8. *nulla*: modifying *castra*;
 some late MSS. have *nullo loco*. —
ea, such sentiments.

9. *pergit ire*: see XXI. 57. 9 n.
 — *hospitium*, quarters; i.e. the
 place where he was staying.

10. *ex mei*, etc., upon my soul;

inquit 'ut ego rem publicam populi Romani non deseram neque alium civem Romanum deserere patiar; si sciens ¹¹ fallo, tum me Iuppiter optimus maximus, domum, familiam remque meam pessimo leto adficiat. In haec verba, ¹² M. Caecili, iures postulo ceterique qui adestis; qui non iuraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat.' Haud ¹³ secus pavidus quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, iurant omnes custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

Eo tempore quo haec Canusii agebantur Venusiam ⁵⁴ ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos ² curandosque cum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos vicanos et pediti denos et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt, cetera- ³ que publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta, certatumque ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur. Sed gravius onus Busae multitudo faciebat, et iam ⁴

a regular formula of oath. — *ut*: we should expect an *ita* with *non* before *alium*, but these two words are supplied by the equivalent *neque*: 'as I will not myself, neither (so not) will I let anybody else, etc.'

11. *si sciens fallo*, etc.: a regular phrase in the oath; cf. XXI. 45. 8, and I. 24. 8. The present tense is archaic and colloquial (Gr. 276. c).

12. *in haec verba*: the accusative in such phrases is regular, on account of the idea of following the dictation; see II. 8 n.

13. *iurant omnes*: notice the emphasis, 'they all take the oath,' doing as he commanded.

cause *sparsi* is used like an adjective; see Gr. 291. b. R.

2. *eos omnes*, *this whole body*; hence the emphasis. — *in singulos equites*: to bring out the distributive idea. In regard to the foot such emphasis is unnecessary, having been once expressed, and therefore the simple dative is used with the distributive numeral. — *togas*: the dress of civilians was apparently worn by officers and knights at winter quarters and in camp. — *quadrigatos*: see 52. 3 n.

3. *muliere*: an individual, and a woman at that, as opposed to *populus*. There is an undercurrent of disapproval of the niggardliness of the people of Canusium.

4. *et iam*: in reference to the gradual coming of the stragglers, and explaining *gravius*.

AFFAIRS AT VENUSIA.

54. *fuerant*: the pluperfect, be-

- 5 ad decem milia hominum erant; Appiusque et Scipio, postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuntium extemplo mittunt, quantae secum peditum equitumque copiae essent, sciscitatumque simul utrum Venusiam adduci exercitum an manere iuberet
- 6 Canusi. Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit. Et iam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat, moenibusque se certe, etsi non armis, ab hoste videbantur defensuri.
- 7 Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium sociorumque, sed occidione occisum cum duobus consulibus exercitum deletasque omnes copias allatum fuerat.
- 8 Numquam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra moenia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri neque adgrediar narrare quae edissertando minora vero faciam.
- 9 Consule exercituque ad Trasumennum priore anno amisso, non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur, nec ulla iam castra Romana nec ducem

6. **Varro**, etc.: the answer to the message. — **consularis exercitus**: Polybius (III. 117) says they numbered about three thousand (cf. *duarum instar legionum*, XXVI. 28). They were condemned to do garrison duty in Sicily for the remainder of the war (XXIII. 25). — **defensuri**: the loosely-used future participle gives the idea of *would* or *could*.

CONSTERNATION AT ROME.

7. **Romam**: the change of scene is emphasized; cf. XXI. 25. 1 n. — **occidione occisum**: the regular phrase for absolute extermination; cf. *θανάφθανείν*, and “destroy with destruction” in the Old Testament. — **fuerat**: not like *fuerant* in I, but the more careless use of the tenses

common in later Latin; see reference above.

8. **salva urbe**: in allusion to the capture of the city by the Gauls (50. 3). — **edissertando**: only here in classical prose. — **minora vero**: cf. *maius vero*, XXI. 32. 7.

9. **non vulnus**, etc.: *i.e.* this was not merely a new blow added to the former one of Trasimenus, but a disaster many times greater. — **multiplex**: cf. 7. 3 n. — **amissi**: for the nominative see Gr. 330. *a* and *b*. It is doubtful whether an infinitive was felt in such cases at all; cf. ‘were reported lost’ in English. — **nec ulla . . . factam**: depending loosely on the idea of reporting contained in *nuntiabantur*, here treated as if used impersonally; such changes are irregular, but not uncommon.

nec militem esse; Hannibalis Apuliam, Samnium, ac 10
iam prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia
gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. Compares 11
cladem ad Aegatis insulas Carthaginiensium proelio
navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere
et vectigalis ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt, aut
pugnam adversam in Africa, cui postea hic ipse Hanni-
bal succubuit: nulla ex parte comparandae sunt, nisi
quod minore animo latae sunt.

P. Furius Philus et M. Pomponius praetores senatum 55
in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt ut de urbis custodia
consulerent; neque enim dubitabant deletis exercitibus 2
hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli
restaret, venturum. Cum in malis sicuti ingentibus ita 3
ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstrepe-
retque clamor lamentantium mulierum, et nondum palam
facto vivi mortuique per omnes paene domos promiscue
complorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites 4

10. **Hannibalis**: the usual predicate genitive of possession; cf. 14. 6, and see Gr. 214. c. — **esset**: the apodosis of the condition implied in **tanta mole cladis**.

11. **compares**: the potential subjunctive. — **ad Aegatis**, etc.: see Introd. 4. — **vectigalis**, etc.: in allusion to the indemnity paid by the Carthaginians at the end of the first Punic war; see XXI. 41. 7 n. — **pugnam**: the battle of Zama, where Scipio ended the war in 202 B.C. — **nisi quod**, etc.: *i.e.* a comparison would show, not that those calamities were greater, but that they were borne with less heroism.

55. **curiam Hostiliam**: said (l. 30. 2) to have been built by Tullus Hostilius, and to have kept this name till 52 B.C., when the building was burned during the riot at Clodius' funeral. It was rebuilt

by Faustus Sulla as *Curia Cornelia*, and again, in 29 B.C., by Augustus as *Curia Iulia*. It was back of the Comitium, at the northeast of the Forum, probably where now is the church of St. Adriano.

2. **venturum**: Livy uses indifferently the infinitive, or *quin* with the subjunctive, after *non dubito*; cf. 39. 15, and see XXI. 53. 1 n.

3. **ne consilium quidem**: *i.e.* not even think what to do, much less do it. — **expedirent**: *i.e. patres*. — **obstreperet**, etc.: the women are conceived as assembled in the Forum, wailing and inquiring for news, and thus by their cries disturbing (*ob*) the consultations of the senate. — **nondum palam facto**: *viz.* who were alive and who had been killed. Hence the living and the dead were alike mourned for.

4. **equites**, etc.: the first thing

- expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos, qui obvios percunctando — aliquos profecto ex fuga passim dissipatos fore — referant quae fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit et, si quid dii immortales, miseriti imperii, reliquum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint; quo se Hannibal post proelium contulerit, quid paret, 6 quid agat acturusque sit. Haec exploranda noscendaque per impigros iuvenes esse; illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratuum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant: matronas publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant, 7 comploratus familiarum coerceant, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad praetores deducendos curent — suae quisque fortunae domi auctorem expectent — custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbe, cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus salvis salutem sperare; ubi conticuerit [recte] tumultus, tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.
- 56 Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, summotaque foro per magistratus turba patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litterae a

was to get information to lessen the tumult. — *Appia et Latina via*: both roads led in the direction of the seat of war. — *aliquos . . . fore*: a parenthetical indirect discourse, depending on the general idea of saying.

6. *illud*: explained by *ut . . . tollant*, etc. — *publico*, *the streets*, a common meaning of the word; cf. *lib. ac publico*, 61. 9.

7. *familiarum*: *i.e.* of slaves and children, who could not be kept in doors. — *nuntios*, etc.: *i.e.* all information, public or private, should be brought at once to

the officials, to avoid idle rumors. — *fortunae*: *i.e.* of the life or death of members of the family. — *auctorem*, *information*, but of an official character, sent by the magistrates.

8. *ponant*: *i.e.* the committee of safety, the *patres*. — *urbe*: Madvig's change from the MS. *urbem*. — *recte*: this seems pointless, and is probably a copyist's blunder.

56. *in hanc*, etc.: *i.e.* without debate, the vote being taken at once by a division (*pedibus issent*). — *tum demum*, *not until then*, the usual sense of the words.

C. Terentio consule allatae sunt : L. Aemilium consulem 2 exercitumque caesum ; sese Canusii esse, reliquias tantae cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem ; ad decem milia militum ferme esse inpositorum inordinatorumque ; Poenum sedere ad Cannas, in captivorum pretiis prae- 3 daque alia nec victoris animo nec magni ducis more nundinantem. Tum privatae quoque per domos clades 4 vulgatae sunt, adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas nec ulla in illa tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem 5 causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum cum sedato urbis tumultu revocati in curiam 6 patres essent, aliae insuper ex Sicilia litterae allatae sunt ab T. Otacilio propraetore : regnum Hieronis classe 7 Punica vastari ; cui cum opem imploranti ferre vellet, nuntiatum sibi esse aliam classem ad Aegatis insulas stare paratam instructamque, ut, ubi se versum ad tuen- 8 dam Syracusanam oram Poeni sensissent, Lilybaeum extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam adgrederentur. Itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri vellent.

Litteris consulis praetorisque recitatis censuerunt 57

2. *decem milia* : not consistent with 54. 1 and 4.

3. *nundinantem*, *dickering*, used in a disparaging sense.

4. *privatae*, etc. : *i.e.* authentic information as to individuals. — *sacrum Cereris* : this cannot have been the regular *Cerealia*, which came in April, for the battle of Cannae was fought Aug. 2 (Gellius, V. 17, 5), *i.e.* by the corrected calendar, probably in June. — *matrona* : the cult was celebrated by matrons.

5. *diebus triginta* : the usual time of mourning was ten months, the old Roman year ; cf. II. 7. 4.

6. *Otacilio* : see 31. 6.

7. *Hieronis* : of Syracuse ; see XXI. 49. 3 n.

8. *aliam* = *reliquam* ; cf. *alius exercitus*, XXI. 27. 6.

RENEWED EFFORTS AT ROME.

57. *praetoris* : the more exact title is given in 56. 6, *propraetore*. —

praetorem M. Claudium, qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum, scribendumque consuli ut, cum praetori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei
 2 publicae fieri posset, Romam veniret. Territi etiam super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Flornia, stupri compertae et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem
 3 consciverat. L. Cantilius scriba pontificius, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant, qui cum Flornia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio
 4 caesus erat ut inter verbera exspiraret. Hoc nefas cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decem-
 5 viri libros adire iussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum quibus precibus suppliciisque deos possent placare, et quaenam futura
 6 finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quae Gallus et Galla, Graecus et Graeca in foro bovario sub terram vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consaeptum, iam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.

M. Claudium: cf. 35. 6 n. — **per commodum**, *without injury to*.

2. sub terra, etc.: Pliny (*Ep.* IV. 11) describes the penalty as inflicted in Domitian's reign.

3. quos: *sc. ex eis*, the relative referring loosely to the class.

4. hoc nefas: *i.e.* the crime of the Vestals. — **libros adire:** *i.e.* to learn what were the proper expiatory rites; cf. XXI. 62. 6 n.

5. Fabius: the historian; see *Introd.* 10. — **Delphos**, etc.: notice the triple construction with *missus*; see *Gr.* 259. 4 and 302. — **suppliciis:** in the earlier, perhaps the

original sense. — **futura finis:** Livy makes *finis* feminine only here and in three other places.

6. interim: *i.e.* before the response was heard from Delphi. — **fatalibus libris:** probably not different from the Sibylline books. — **foro bovario:** see XXI. 62. 2 n. — **iam ante:** in the Gallic war, ten years earlier. — **minime Romano:** Livy evidently wishes to put the responsibility for the rite upon the foreign books (*i.* 16 n.). But the accounts of the self-devotion of Curtius and of the Decii and the *ver sacrum* (9. 10 n.) seem to show

Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deſ M. Claudius Marcellus 7
 ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem
 ſcriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi praesidio eſſent, mittit ;
 ipſe, legione classica — ea legio tertia erat — cum tribu- 8
 nis militum Teanum Sidicinum praemiſſa, claſſe tradita
 P. Furio Philo collegae, paucos poſt dies Canusium
 magnis itineribus contendit. Inde dictator ex auctori- 9
 tate patrum dictus M. Iunius et Ti. Sempronius magiſter
 equitum dilectu edicto iuniores ab annis ſeptemdecim et
 quosdam praetextatos ſcribunt. Quattuor ex his legio-
 nes et mille equites effecti. Item ad ſocios Latinum- 10
 que nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt.
 Arma, tela, alia parari iubent et vetera ſpolia hoſtium
 detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et aliam formam novi 11
 dilectus inopia liberorum capitum ac neceſſitas dedit :
 octo milia iuvenum validorum ex ſervitiis, prius ſciſci-
 tantes ſingulos vellentne militare, empta publice arma-
 verunt. Hic miles magis placuit, cum pretio minore 12
 redimendi captivos copia fieret.

that human ſacrifices were made in
 early Italy; ſee Pliny, *N. H.* XXVIII.
 2. 12.

7. *ſcriptos habebat*: not the
 ſame as *ſcripſerat*; cf. *clauſum ha-*
buit hoſtem, 4. 5, and ſee Gr. 292. c.
 — *urbi praesidio*: cf. 11. 9.

8. *tertia*: on what principle of
 numbering is uncertain, as the third
 is alſo mentioned in 53. 2; per-
 haps this is *tertia classica*. — *Teanum*:
 in the northern corner of
 Campania, commanding the con-
 nections between Rome to Cap-
 ua. — *Furio*: *praetor urbanus*
 (35. 5).

9. *dictus*: naturally by the con-
 ſul in accordance with *Romam ve-*
niret in 1, but no mention is made
 of his journey: — *ab annis ſeptem-*
decim: though liable to military

duty at ſeventeen, young men were
 not uſually choſen till about nine-
 teen. — *praetextatos*: boys under
 ſeventeen, who had not yet aſſumed
 the *toga virilis*.

10. *Latinum nomen*: ſee XXI.
 55. 4 n. — *ex formula*, according to
 the rolls, as kept by the ſingle ſtates
 and provided for in the treaties with
 the allies.

11. *novi*: inasmuch as ſlaves had
 not been employed before, and in
 general the troops were always
 freemen. — *ſervitiis*: cf. *dignita-*
tes, 40. 4 n. — *publice*, by the ſtate.

12. *magis*: doubtless on account
 of the moral effect of ransoming
 captive ſoldiers; ſee note on *vili-*
ores, etc., 59. 1. — *cum*, although.
 — *minore*: i.e. than that paid for
 the ſlaves.

58 Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bellum gerentis intentus curis, cum captivis productis segregatisque socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasumennumque lacum, benigne adlocutus sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoque vocatos, quod numquam alias antea, satis miti sermone adloquitur: non internecivum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare. Et patres virtuti Romanae cessisse, et se id adniti, ut suae in vicem simul felicitati et virtuti cedatur. Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere; pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecentos pediti, servo centenos. Quamquam aliquantum adiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium quo pepigerant dedentes se, laeti tamen quamcumque condicionem paciscendi acciperunt. Placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi qui Romam ad senatum irent, nec pignus aliud fidei quam ut iurarent se redituros acceptum. Missus cum his Carthalo, nobilis Carthaginienensis, qui, si forte ad pacem inclinaret animus, condiciones ferret. Cum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingeni homo, veluti aliquid oblitus, iuris iurandi solvendi causa cum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites adsequitur. Vbi

THE CAPTIVES.

58. *namque*: introducing the reason of *redimendi copia*, just above. — *victoris*, etc.: *i.e.* he proceeded to dispose of the booty instead of securing his success; cf. Maharbal's reproach, 51. 4.

2. *segregatis*: *i.e.* according to their nationality. — *sicut ad Trebiam*: not elsewhere mentioned. — *Trasumennum*: cf. 7. 5. — *quod numquam*, etc., *a thing which he had never done before*.

3. *cedatur*: *sc. ab eis*. The emphatic contrast is sufficiently indicated by the position of *suae*.

4. *redimendi . . . copiam*: cf. 57. 12. — *in capita*, etc.: cf. *in*, etc., 54. 2 n.

5. *equitibus*, *in the case of*, etc., but expressed in Latin by the dative of reference.

6. *placuit*: used indefinitely, probably to include both parties.

7. *animus*: *i.e.* of the senate.

8. *minime Romani*: a patriotic exaggeration, for such sharp prac-

Romam venire eos nuntiatum est, Carthaloni obviam lictor missus qui dictatoris verbis nuntiaret ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.

Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est. **59** Quorum princeps 'M. Iuni vosque, patres conscripti,' inquit 'nemo nostrum ignorat nulli umquam civitati viliores fuisse captivos quam nostrae; ceterum, nisi ² nobis plus iusto nostra placet causa, non alii umquam minus neglegendi vobis quam nos in hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidi- ³ mus, sed cum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis caesorum corporum proelium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem ⁴ fessi labore ac vulneribus vallum sumus tutati; postero ⁵ die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur nec ulla iam per confertos hostis erumpendi spes esset nec esse nefas duceremus quinquaginta milibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tunc demum pacti sumus ⁶ pretium quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus nihil iam auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus. Maiores quoque ⁷ acceperamus se a Gallis auro redemisse, et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones pacis, legatos

tice was not uncommon; cf. the transactions at the Caudine Forks.

9. *verbis, in the name of*, but not necessarily using his exact language.

APPEAL OF THE PRISONERS.

59. senatus . . . datus est: cf. XXI. 12. 8 n. — *viliores*, etc.: for this thoroughly Roman sentiment, see Horace, *C. III.* 5, and notice the force of such derivatives from *captivus* as 'cattivo,' 'chétif,' 'cattiff.'

2. *neglegendi*: *i.e.* to be disre-

garded and left in the power of the enemy.

4. *diei reliquum*: see XXI. 33. 7 n.

6. *tunc demum*: see 56. 1 n.

7. *maiores*, etc.: *i.e.* we are not without a precedent. — *a Gallis*: after the capture of Rome in 390 B.C. — *vestros*: as the senate was mainly recruited from the noble families, it doubtless consisted largely of the scions of those who, sixty-four years earlier, had sent the embassy to Pyrrhus. — *illos, as every one knows*. — *legatos*: among these

tamen captivorum redimendorum gratia Tarentum mi-
 8 sisse. Atqui et ad Aliam cum Gallis et ad Heracleam
 cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore
 et fuga pugna fuit. Cannenses campos acervi Romano-
 rum corporum tegunt, nec supersumus pugnae, nisi in
 quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires hostem defecerunt.
 9 Sunt etiam de nostris quidam qui ne in acie quidem
 fuerunt, sed praesidio castris relictis, cum castra trade-
 10 rentur, in potestatem hostium venerunt. Haud equidem
 ullius civis et commilitonis fortunae aut conditioni in-
 video, nec premendo alium me extulisse velim: ne illi
 quidem, nisi pernicitatis pedum et cursus aliquod prae-
 mium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non
 prius quam Venusiae aut Canusi constiterunt, se nobis
 merito praetulerint gloriatique sint in se plus quam in
 11 nobis praesidii rei publicae esse. Sed et illis bonis ac
 fortibus militibus utemini et nobis etiam promptioribus
 pro patria, cum beneficio vestro redempti atque in

was the famous C. Fabricius. — **Tarentum**: Pyrrhus established himself here after his victory at Heraclea, in 280 B.C.

8. **atqui**, *and yet*, introducing the minor premise, 'those battles were much less bloody than this of ours.' — **nec supersumus**, etc., *and only those of us survive for whose slaughter*, etc.

9. **de nostris quidam**: cf. *nemo nostrum*, I, and note on *de*, 53. I. — **fuerunt**: Madvig's reading for the indefensible *refugerunt* of the MSS.

10. **equidem**, etc.: concessive; 'though I do not, etc., yet I am forced to say.' — **premendo extulisse**: cf. 12. 12; for the perfect **extulisse** see Gr. 288. *d. R.*, and Roby, 1371. — **illi**, etc.: the argument is, 'you retain as soldiers

those who did not surrender, but in fact their only superiority to us is in swiftness of foot, which enabled them to escape, flying unarmed from the field.' — **non prius**, etc.: 'they did not stop till (they stopped) at Venusia, etc.' — **praetulerint**: properly an apodosis with omitted protasis, as in the potential subjunctive, but amounting to an expression of possibility or propriety: 'they cannot plume themselves.' The perfect does not differ from the present in sense; cf. *fidem fecerint*, XXI. 47. 5 n.

11. **sed et**, etc.: 'but they will still make good soldiers, and we no less so, in fact more so from gratitude.' The survivors were in fact only used for garrison duty in Sicily; see 54. 6 n.

patriam restituti fuerimus. Dilectum ex omni aetate 12
et fortuna habetis; octo milia servorum audio armari.
Non minor numerus noster est, nec maiore pretio redimi
possumus quam ii emuntur; nam si conferam nos cum
illis, iniuriam nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in 13
tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres
conscripti, si iam duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro
merito faciatis, cui nos hosti relicturi sitis: Pyrrho vide- 14
licet, qui hospitum numero captivos habuit? an barbaro
ac Poeno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existi-
mari potest? Si videatis catenas squalorem deformi- 15
tatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea
species moveat quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas
Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis 16
sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiae stantium
cognatorum nostrorum exspectantiumque responsum
vestrum. Cum ii pro nobis proque iis qui absunt ita
suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ipsorum

12. *dilectum*, etc.: 'the character of your levies shows that you need soldiers and that you take much worse soldiers than we are.' — *fortuna*: 'station in life, in which we are far superior.' — *nam si*, etc.: 'I only compare the price to be paid, for if I should compare the quality it would be an insult to the name of Roman.'

13. *illud*, etc.: 'and the character of the enemy ought to influence you also.' — *nullo nostro merito*, *without any fault of ours*.

14. *qui . . . existimari potest*: a kind of prolepsis; cf. 'I know thee who thou art'; see Gr. 334. c. — *avarior, crudelior*: either of these qualities would make hard masters. These were the stock charges of Romans against Hanni-

bal; cf. 50. 6, and see note on *vitia*, XXI. 4. 9.

15. *si videatis*, etc.: 'as you would be so moved as to be glad to buy your slaughtered legions back if you should see them, so you would be affected no less if you saw the condition of the captives.' — *campis*: cf. *via*, I. 12 n.

16. *intueri*, etc.: 'one phase of the suffering you can have before your eyes in the tears of the relatives, and this may give you a hint as to the sufferings of the men themselves.' — in *vestibulo*: the Comitium, the vacant space in front of the Curia, northeast of the main part of the Forum; cf. in *comitio*, 60. 1, and in *comitio*, in *vestibulo curiae*, XLV. 24. 12, and see note on *curiam Hostilium*, 55. 1.

- 17 esse quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? Si, me
 dius fidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam
 suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse cen-
 seamus, cum indigni ut redimeremur vobis visi simus.
- 18 Rediere Romam quondam remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio
 captivi; sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis,
 ad redimendos sese missis. Redeam ego in patriam
- 19 trecentis nummis non aestimatus civis? Suum quis-
 que animum habet, patres conscripti. Scio in discrimine
 esse vitam corpusque meum: magis me famae
 periculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsi
 abeamus; neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines
 credent.'
- 60 Vbi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba quae in
 comitio erat clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad
 curiam tendebant orantes ut sibi liberos fratres cogna-
 2 tos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in
 foro turbae virorum immiscuerat. Senatus summotis
 3 arbitris consuli coeptus. Ibi cum sententiis variaretur,
 et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice im-

17. si, etc.: 'but even under the most favorable circumstances, the stigma of your scorn would be worse than death.' — ut: Livy uses *ut* after *dignus* at XXIII. 42. 13 (but apparently for the sake of clearness); the infinitive at IV. 49. 11 and VIII. 26. 6; elsewhere the regular relative clause with the subjunctive; see Gr. 320. f.

18. sed, etc.: but their self-respect was preserved by the conduct of the senate in sending ambassadors to bring them back. — redeam: the pathos is enhanced by making it a personal matter with the speaker. The subjunctive question implies the impossibility of consenting to such a course.

19. suum quisque, etc.: 'I know not how others may feel, but as for me, etc.' — scio . . . magis: the emphasis supplies the place of contrasting (adversative) words: '*I know* my bodily peril, but I am far *more* concerned about my reputation.' — neque enim, etc.: 'people will think that we are scorned by you as unworthy, for of course nobody will think *you* are influenced by the expense.'

REPLY OF TORQUATUS.

60. in comitio: see 59. 16 n. — liberos: substantive.

2. consuli, *to consult*; the passive is used because the custom was

pensam faciendam nec prohibendos ex privato redimi, si quibus argentum in praesentia deesset, dandam ex aerario pecuniam mutuam praedibusque ac praediis cavendum populo censerent, tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscae ac nimis durae, ut plerisque videatur, severitatis, interrogatus sententiam ita locutus fertur: 'Si tantummodo postulassent legati pro iis qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum brevi sententiam peregissem; quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis ut morem traditum a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc autem, cum prope gloriati sint quod se hostibus dediderint, praeferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, sed etiam iis qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli aequum censuerint, nihil vos eorum, patres conscripti, quae illic acta sunt ignorare patiar. Atque utinam haec, quae apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviae cuiusque et virtutis, aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium potestate essent. Sed cum, fessis pugnando hostibus,

for the presiding magistrate to ask the senators in order to state their views (*dicere sententiam*).

3. *nec*: adversative, 'and at the same time . . . not.'

4. *dandam mutuam*, should be lent. — *praedibus*, personal sureties, whose property was bound, however. — *praediis*, mortgages. — *cavendum populo*, that the people should be secured; i.e. the money was to be loaned on proper security by the state.

5. *Torquatus*: consul in 235 and 224 B.C. — *plerisque*: people in general, not the senators. — *se-*

veritatis: this was a family trait; for the syntax, see *annorum*, XXI. 1. 4 n.

6. *postulassent*: opposed to *gloriati sint*, below.

7. *quid aliud*, etc.: a not uncommon short-hand expression, in which a neuter pronoun represents a full expression with a verb or participle implied in what follows; cf. *quid aliud quam admonemus*, IV. 3. 3; *quid aliud quam tollit*, VI. 41. 7. — *nunc*: opposed to the contrary-to-fact supposition. — *gloriati sint*: instead of excusing themselves and asking a favor.

tum victoria laetis et ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent et septem milia armatorum hominum erumpere etiam per confertos hostes possent, neque per se ipsi id facere
 10 conati sunt neque alium sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire
 11 in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. Si, ut avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si, ut nobis adolescentibus priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, cum ad tumultum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostis, dixit: 'Mori-
 12 mur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex ob- sidione circumventas legiones,' si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros equidem nec Romanos vos ducerem,
 13 si nemo tantae virtutis exstisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem demonstrat;

9. *et ipsis*: i.e. as well as the Romans. — *alium*: Tuditanus; see next section, and cf. 50. 6.

10. *Tuditanus*: the full name is given in the formal recital of his deeds; cf. 8 and 16. — *sequerentur*, *posse*: command and statement respectively in indirect discourse.

11. *memoria*, *in the time of*, so that they could remember it; the customary expression. — *Decius*, etc.: this was in 343 B.C. Three years later he devoted himself to destruction for the success of the Romans. — *Calpurnius*: he sacrificed himself in a similar manner at Camarina in Sicily in 258 B.C., and by drawing the attack of the enemy upon himself saved the consul Atilius Calatinus.

12. *diceret*, etc.: the construction here cannot well be distinguished

from the contrary-to-fact one, but, by a natural transfer of the point of view to the time of the capture, the orator represents the appeal of Sempronius as now being made in order to show that the failure to respond to it marks the captives as worthless cowards; see Gr. 307. f. and 308. footn. The confusion of time continues through *estis*, in 15. If the orator were speaking at that time, he would say *si dicat*, . . . *ducam si . . . exstiterit*, though he might also use *diceret* and *ducerem*. — *equidem . . . ducerem*: Koch's improvement on the MSS. *quidem . . . duceret*.

13. *viam*, etc.: the contrary-to-fact idea, as well as the transfer of time, comes out here in the use of the present tense; 'but he does not

reduces in patriam ad parentis, ad coniuges ac liberos facit. Vt servemini, deest vobis animus : quid, si mori- 14
endum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta milia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die caesa iacent. Si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil umquam movebit ; si tanta clades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet. Liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam ; immo desi- 15
derate, dum patria est, dum cives eius estis : sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati iure civium, servi Carthaginensium facti. Pretio redituri estis eo, unde 16
ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium civem vestrum non audistis arma capere ac sequi se iubentem ; Hannibalem post paulo audistis castra prodi et arma tradi iubentem. Quamquam quid ego ignaviam istorum 17
accuso, cum scelus possim accusare? Non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi inertis summovissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium agmen quam per hostium fuit erumpendum. Hos cives 18
patria desideret? Quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt

say let us die, he says save yourselves, and you lack the courage to do it.'

14. *servemini*: with the force of the middle voice. — *esset, faceretis*: the same kind of construction as in 12. — *vilem*, etc.: *i.e.* 'make you willing to sacrifice your lives.'

15. *desiderate*: continuing the confusion of time, but alluding to the *desiderium* expressed by the mouthpiece of the captives. — *desideratis*: returning again to the present moment. — *deminuti capite*: a technical expression for the loss of the condition of citizenship (*caput*); cf. *capitis minor*, of Regulus, Hor. C. III. 5. 42.

16. *pretio*: the position adds to the scornful character of the question; 'is it at the cost of a ransom that you are to recover the rights of Roman citizens which you have forfeited, etc.?'

17. *ignaviam*, etc.: *i.e.* he puts the charge in the mildest form, while the next sentence shows that they are guilty of treason. — *ni . . . summovissent*: as if *ac retinuisent* were added to the apodosis; see Gr. 308. b. N. — *prius*, etc.: *i.e.* to carry out his bold purpose, Sempronius had first to overcome an armed band of his fellow-citizens.

18. *fuissent*: here the contrary-

- 19 civem haberet. Ex milibus septem armatorum sescenti
 exstiterunt qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi
 atque armati redirent, neque his sescentis hostes obsti-
 20 tere: quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agmini
 futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis hodie viginti milia
 armatorum Canusii fortia fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc
 autem quem ad modum hi boni fidelesque — nam fortes
 21 ne ipsi quidem dixerint — cives esse possunt? Nisi quis
 credere potest adfuisse erumpentibus, qui ne erumpe-
 rent obsistere conati sunt, aut non invidere eos cum
 incolumitati tum gloriae illorum per virtutem partae,
 cum sibi timorem ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosae
 22 causam esse sciant. Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes
 simul lucem atque hostem expectare, cum silentio
 noctis erumpendi occasio esset. At enim ad erumpen-
 dum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda fortiter castra
 23 animum habuerunt; dies noctesque aliquot obsessi val-
 lum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt; tandem ultima ausi
 passique, cum omnia subsidia vitae deessent adfectisque
 fame viribus arma iam sustinere nequirent, necessitati-
 24 bus magis humanis quam armis victi sunt. Orto sole
 hostis ad vallum accessit; ante secundam horam, nullam
 fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se

to-fact form is regular. — **haberet**: referring to present time, according to rule.

20. **futurum fuisse**: for the direct *fuisse* (Gr. 337. b. 2). — **fortia fidelia**: cf. *Romana*, XXI. 55. 4 n.

21. **nisi quis**: a *reductio ad absurdum*, as with *nisi vero, nisi forte*. — **adfuisse**, etc.: *i.e.* they cannot be faithful citizens who did no service to their fellows in their sally, and that they did not do this is obvious from their resistance to

the sally. The infinitive is Luchs' emendation of *fuisse ut*; Madvig proposed *aut favisse*. — **aut**, etc.: *i.e.* or rather that they are not the enemies of good citizens on account of jealousy. This goes to show their worthlessness.

22. **at**: introducing a supposed objection.

23. **dies noctesque**, etc.: ironical expansion of the supposed objection.

24. **orto sole**, etc.: *i.e.* on the contrary, they made haste to surrender.

ipsos. Haec vobis istorum per biduum militia fuit. 25 Cum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, in castra refugerunt; cum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra traderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Et vos 26 redimam? Cum erumpere e castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; cum manere et castra tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego 27 non magis istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hannibali qui per medios hostis e castris eruperunt ac per summam virtutem se patriae restituerunt.'

Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque 61 plerosque captivi cognatione attingebant, praeter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos iam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa homines movit, quia nec aerarium exhauriri, magna iam summa erogata 2 in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem maxime huiusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem locupletari volebant. Cum triste responsum, non redimi 3 captivos, redditum esset, novusque super veterem luctus tot iactura civium adiectus esset, cum magnis fleatibus questibusque legatos ad portam prosecuti sunt.

25. *decuerat, erat*: the indicative of expressions of propriety, etc., with an implied protasis contrary to fact (see Gr. 311. c.), is here retained with *cum*, where a concessive implication would ordinarily have been brought out by the use of the subjunctive. Instead of saying 'whereas' or 'although,' Torquatus puts together, by a very expressive idiom, what ought to have been done and what actually was done.

26. *vos*: Torquatus addresses sometimes the deputation and sometimes the senate. — *redimam*: Luchs' change to *redimamus* is

quite gratuitous; cf. *redeam*, 59. 18 n. — *oportet, necesse est*: i.e. moral obligations, as well as their natural duty under the circumstances, were ignored.

RESULT OF THE DEBATE.

61. *attingebant, were connected with.*

2. *in servos emendos*: a rare form of purpose in Livy; cf. XXI. 21. 10 n.

3. *prosecuti sunt*: i.e. the crowd of relatives of the captives as described in 60. 1 and 2.

- 4 Vnus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra iure iurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.
- 5 Est et alia de captivis fama: decem primo venisse; de eis cum dubitatum in senatu esset admitterentur in urbem necne, ita admissos esse ne tamen iis senatus
- 6 daretur; morantibus deinde longius omnium spe alios tris insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium et C. Calpur-
- 7 nium et L. Manlium; tum demum ab cognato Scribonii tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatum esse, nec
- 8 censuisse redimendos senatum; et novos legatos tris ad Hannibalem revértisse, decem veteres remansisse, quod per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsolvisset; de iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu esse, victosque paucis sententiis qui dedendos censuerint;
- 9 ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis igno-

4. *unus*, etc.: Cicero (*de Off.* III. 32. 115), on the authority of Acilius (Introd. 10), says there were several (*plures*) who attempted this trick, and Livy himself uses the plural in book XXIV. 18, and gives the number as ten in the other version (8). — *reditu*: cf. 58. 8. — *relatum est*: see 7 n. — *omnes*, *unanimously*. — *publice*, in the service of the state, to mark the solemnity of the proceeding.

5. *ita*, on the condition, as often when the word is followed by *ne*; see Gr. 319. *b*.

6. *longius* = *diutius*. — *spe*: the idiomatic ablative with comparatives; see Gr. 247. *b*. — *alios insuper*: for the pleonasm, see note on *ut dicerent*, 32. 4. — *tris insuper le-*

gatos: cf. *tres deinceps turres*, XXI. 8. 5 n.

7. *tum demum*: see 56. 1 n. — *relatum esse*: the technical expression used of a magistrate consulting the senate. No case of a tribune doing this is mentioned earlier. — *nec censuisse*: idiomatic, instead of *et censuisse non*; cf. the use of *nego*.

8. *per causam*, under the pretext. — *religione*: cf. *iure iurando*, 4. — *victos*, etc.: i.e. and accordingly the prisoners were not surrendered. — *paucis sententiis*, by a small majority.

9. *proximis censoribus*: an ablative of time, as often with *consulibus*. — *notis ignominiaque*: they were dropped from

miniisque confectos esse ut quidam eorum mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non foro solum omni deinde vita sed prope luce ac publico caruerint. Mirari 10 magis adeo discrepare inter auctores quam quid veri sit discernere queas.

Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit, vel ea res indicio est, quod fides sociorum, quae ad eam diem firma steterat, tum labare coepit, nulla profecto alia de re quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defecere autem ad Poenos hi populi: Atellani, Calatini, 11 Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes, Lucani, praeter hos Vzentini et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen 13 eae clades defectionesque sociorum moverunt ut pacis usquam mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum nec postquam is rediit renovavitque memoriam acceptae cladis; quo in tempore ipso adeo 14 magno animo civitas fuit ut consuli ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti et obviam itum

their tribes, and became *aerarii*, and the horses furnished by the state were taken from such as were knights: see XXIV. 18, and Gellius, VI. 18. — *foro*: as the scene of official life. — *deinde*: for the adjective force, see *deinceps*, XXI. 8. 5 n. — *luce*, etc.: of coming abroad generally; cf. *publico*, 55. 6 n.

10. *firma steterat*: for Livy's explanation, see 13. 11. — *imperio*: *sc. Romano*.

11. *defecere*, etc.: this summarizes the defections of several subsequent years, and the Galli had previously revolted (XXI. 55. 4). — *Atellani*, etc.: *Campani* has probably fallen out of the text. Their

revolt is described in the first chapters of book XXIII. — *Hirpini*: see 13. 1 n. — *praeter*, *except*.

12. *praeter*, *besides*. — *Graecorum*: *i.e.* the part of Italy known as Magna Graecia.

13. *pacis*, etc.: cf. Eutropius, III. 10 *in quibus malis nemo tamen Romanorum pacis mentionem habere dignatus est*.

14. *quo in tempore*: cf. *in tali tempore*, 35. 7 n. — *magno animo*: *i.e.* the state showed such magnanimity, in spite of Varro's being the cause of the disaster. The dissensions had been of a political nature, and the state was now too much reduced to indulge in partisan controversy. — *cuius ipse causa*, etc.:

frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit et gratiae actae
 15 quod de re publica nōn desperasset; quj si Carthaginien-
 sium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicij foret.

the plebeian Varro was probably made the scapegoat for the blunders of the government; cf. *causam belli*, XXI. 21. 1. Valerius Maximus (III. 4. 4) says that the dictatorship was offered to him, and according to Frontinus (IV. 5. 6) *non vitae cupiditate sed reipublicae amore se superfuisse reliquo aetatis suae tempore adprobavit: nam et barbam capillumque submitit et postea numquam recubans cibum cepit; honoribus quoque, cum ei deferrentur a populo, renuntiavit dicens felicio-*

ribus magistratibus reipublicae opus esse. — *frequenter*, in large numbers; the temporal meaning is seldom found till after Livy.

15. *nihil*, etc.: crucifixion was a penalty for unfortunate generalship among the Carthaginians (XXXVIII. 48). — *foret*: not the indicative, *fuera*t or *erat*, because the necessity itself is here conditioned; see Gr. 308. c. N. 1. The imperfect here, as often, refers to past time; see Gr. 308. a. For the form, cf. *forent*, XXI. 21. 1 n.

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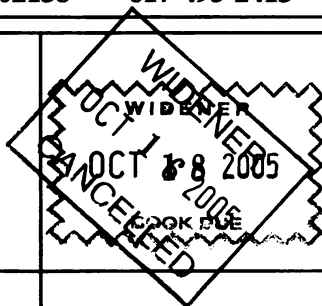
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